



HITLER'S LAST GAMBLE

Carnage at the Battle of the Bulge

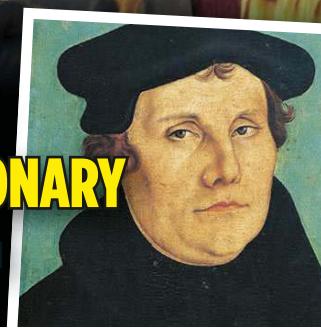
SECRETS OF STONEHENGE

What was Britain's most famous landmark built for?



THE QUIET REVOLUTIONARY

How Martin Luther changed the world



A free exhibition exploring the impact of the Reformation on London

REFORMATION

Shattered World, New Beginnings

Free Exhibition

26.06.17  15.12.17

In Conversation with Philippa Gregory

28 September, 7:00pm

Beveridge Hall, Senate House

Bestselling author Philippa Gregory will join Professor Christopher Cook to discuss her work across the period of the Reformation, with particular focus on women's experiences.

Tickets: £20/£15

To book: ref500.uk/philippagregory



UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON
SENATE HOUSE
LIBRARY

The Anglo-Saxons depicted Vikings as a violent mob, but was there a meeker side to these medieval pirates?



Who were the Vikings?

For many of us, the **Vikings were a bunch of horned invaders**, who raped and pillaged their way across our green and pleasant lands, taking all they could in **lightning raids**, before returning to their homes in Scandinavia. But the **reality is less straightforward** (they didn't wear horned helmets for starters!). Ryan Lavelle's tour of Viking Britain (p24) demonstrates a wholly different people, whose influence **can still be felt** all around us.

And it is this idea of **the past creating our present** that remains one of the strongest reasons for our fascination with history. Take, for example, events of 500 years ago, when **Martin Luther** may (or may not!) have nailed his 95 Theses to the door of a German church (p71), which has seen **Catholic and Protestant pitted against one another** ever since.

This issue is crammed with loads more great features – we have **spies in revolutionary Russia** (p35), pioneers of the **Pan-American Highway** (p44), and the **foods that have shaped history** (p42). Enjoy – and don't forget to follow us on **Instagram, Facebook and Twitter!**

Paul McGuinness
Editor

Don't miss our November issue, on sale 12 October

THIS MONTH WE'VE LEARNED...

25

Total yards driven in one day of the Pan-American Highway expedition of 1940-41. See page 44.

3

Number of years after the publication of Agatha Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express* that there was an actual homicide aboard the luxury long-distance train. See page 16.

10

Months of the reign of Romulus Augustus (Augustulus), the last emperor of Rome. See page 79.

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ON THE COVER

Your key to the big stories...

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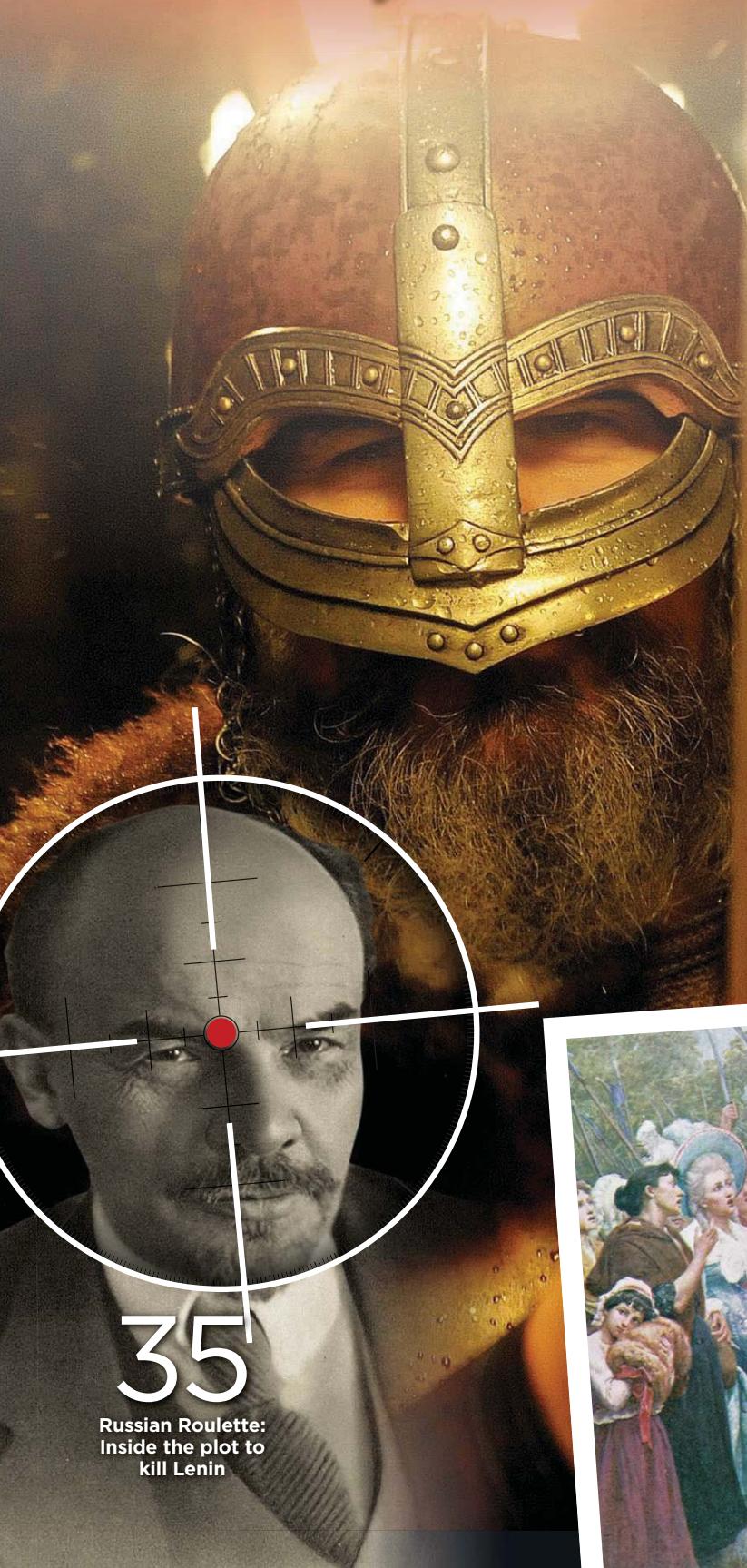
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From plundering pirates to ruthless warriors: How Cnut's Great Army claimed the crown

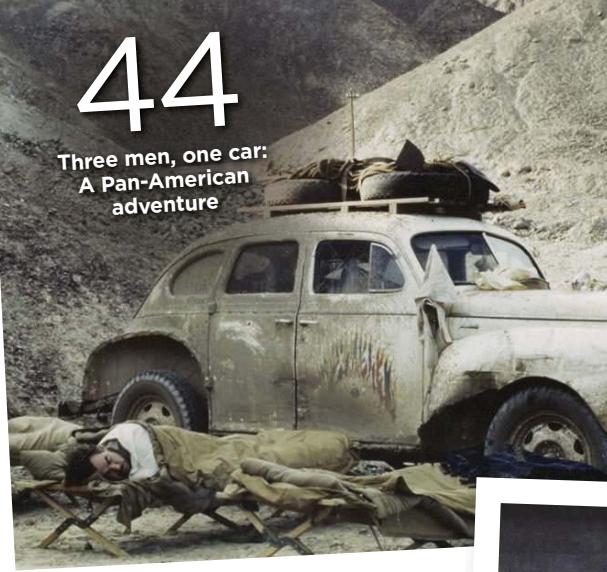


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Inside the plot to
kill Lenin

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Three men, one car:
A Pan-American
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Edgar Ætheling:
The King before
the Conqueror



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"Let them eat
cake": The food
that changed
the world

OCTOBER 2017

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Martin Luther's war
against the Pope

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TIME CAPSULE

THIS MONTH IN HISTORY





SNAPSHOT

1960 A SORE POINT

A crowd of photographers got more than they bargained for after pursuing Swedish film star, Anita Ekberg, one night in Rome. Emerging from her villa, the actress used a bow to fire arrows at the paparazzi. She managed to destroy a camera and a flash gun, before grabbing one cameraman by the hair and attempting to knee him. At noon the following day, her maid informed the press that Ekberg was unavailable for comment as she was "still asleep".



TIME CAPSULE OCTOBER



SNAPSHOT

1959 CLEAN SWEEP

A workman sweeps a stretch of the M1 ahead of its grand opening. It was the first intercity motorway completed in the UK, initially connecting London to Birmingham. The 193-mile stretch was built in four phases, with the latest extension in 1999. During its early years, the M1 had no speed limits, central reservation or crash barriers, and no lighting. When the 70mph rule was introduced in 1965, it reduced fatalities by 20 per cent.





**TIME CAPSULE
OCTOBER**





SNAPSHOT

1945 SPOILS OF WAR

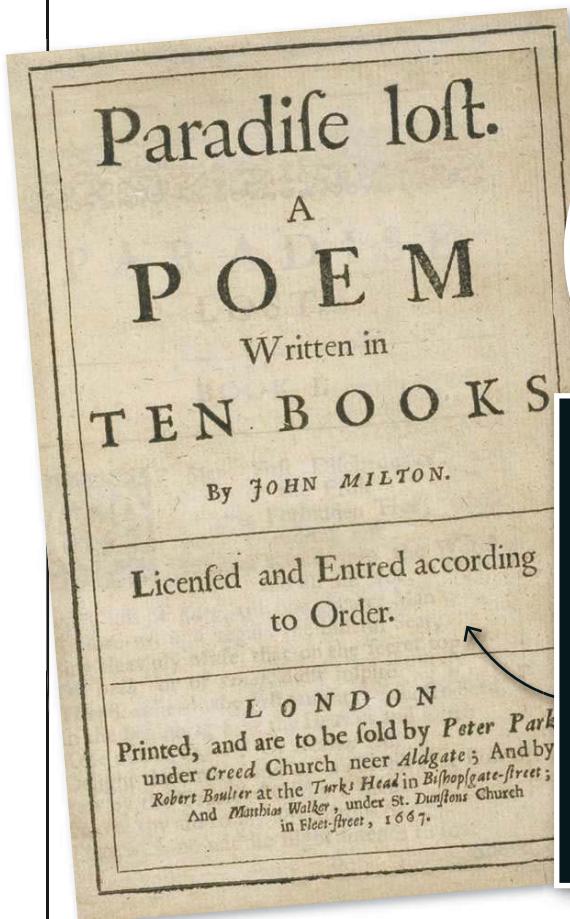
A US soldier inspects one of hundreds of artworks found in the home of Adolf Hitler's right-hand man, Hermann Göring. The Third Reich plundered many treasures from the countries under its occupation during World War II. Hitler planned to concentrate all of Europe's most significant art in a single museum based in his hometown, the Austrian city of Linz. Göring's collection alone accounted for 50 per cent of the works "confiscated" from the Reich's enemies.



TIME CAPSULE OCTOBER

"I READ THE NEWS TODAY..."

Weird and wonderful, it all happened in **October**

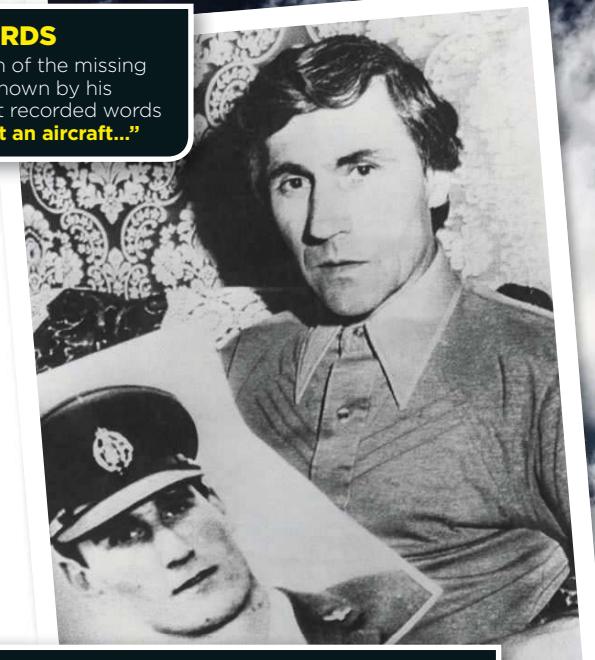


POETRY IN MOTION 1667 PARADISE LOST IS PUBLISHED

John Milton, an **ageing and blind** ex-civil servant, spent five years completing his masterpiece, *Paradise Lost*, with the **help of friends and scribes**. Milton then sold the publishing rights for a mere £5. However, the poem became one of the most popular of the day, making the publishers a pretty penny.

LAST WORDS

A photograph of the missing Frederick is shown by his father. His last recorded words were, "It's not an aircraft..."



SPACE CADET 1978 FRED VALENTICH DISAPPEARS

Twenty-year-old pilot and UFO enthusiast Frederick Valentich **mysteriously disappeared** after seeing "four bright lights", just off the coast of Melbourne Australia. It was speculated that he had been **abducted by aliens**. Though the case remains unsolved, a likely explanation is that the young pilot became disoriented and spiralled to his death.



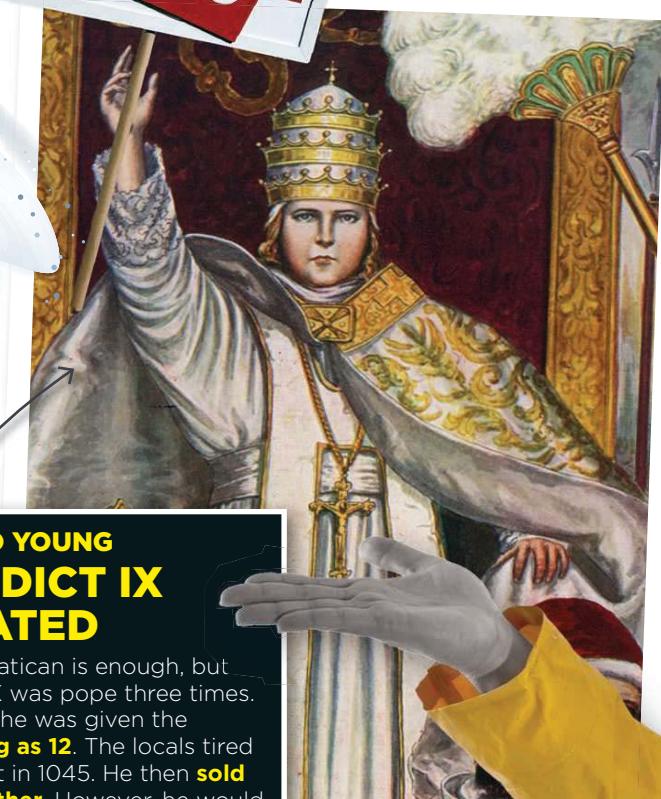
IN A SPIN 1091 TORNADO STRIKES LONDON

A powerful whirlwind, **travelling at speeds up to 240mph**, crashed through the English capital on 17 October 1091. London Bridge (made from wood) was annihilated, as well as St Mary-le-Bow church and a number of timber houses. Surprisingly, the devastating freak weather only claimed **two victims**.



TOO MUCH, TOO YOUNG 1032 BENEDICT IX IS INAUGURATED

Usually, one stint in the Vatican is enough, but the notorious Benedict IX was pope three times. Known for his profligacy, he was given the papacy **perhaps as young as 12**. The locals tired of him, and drove him out in 1045. He then **sold his position to his godfather**. However, he would be the leader of the Catholic Church twice more.



BREWING UP A STORM 1706 TWINING OPENS HIS FIRST TEAROOM

Tea merchant Thomas Twining purchased an old coffee shop at 216 Strand, London and turned it into Britain's first tearoom. The ornate (but unusually narrow) establishment sold teas from around the world, as it does today, and was one of the few public spaces open to women. Tea lovers can still visit the premises and sample some delicious blends.

Tea became a popular drink of the wealthy after it was introduced by Charles II's queen, Catherine of Braganza

THIRD TIME'S A CHARM 1406 WHITTINGTON RE-ELECTED LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

Gloucester native Dick Whittington, of **tale fame**, was sworn in as Mayor of London for the third time. He had originally gone to the city to find work, but **became a rich merchant** and moved into politics. However, the existence of his lucky cat is debated.



RAIN CHEQUE 1824 MACINTOSH SELLS HIS FIRST RAINCOAT

By happy lab accident, Glaswegian chemist Charles Macintosh **discovered a waterproof paste**. Sandwiching it between fabric to create a **rainproof material**, he set up his own company and produced his first coats later that year. The iconic Mac was born.

“...OH BOY” October events that changed the world

OCTOBER AD 732 FOREIGN EVASION

The attempted Muslim conquest of France by the Umayyads of Al-Andalus (Spain) is halted by Frankish military leader Charles Martel.

12 OCTOBER 1810 THE FIRST OKTOBERFEST

When King Ludwig I gets married, the citizens of Munich are invited to join the celebrations, becoming the first ever Oktoberfest.

10 OCTOBER 1903 WOMEN CHANGE THE WORLD

Emmeline Pankhurst creates the Women's Social and Political Union from her home in Manchester, along with five other women.

21 OCTOBER 1905 DEATH OF NELSON

Vice-Admiral Nelson is mortally wounded at the Battle of Trafalgar, after being shot in the shoulder by a musket.

17 OCTOBER 1912 BALKAN WARS

Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia declare war on the Ottoman Empire, marking the start of the First Balkan War.

1 OCTOBER 1949 THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Mao Zedong founds the communist People's Republic of China on the Chinese mainland, after a bloody civil war with Taiwan.

12 OCTOBER 1984 BRIGHTON HOTEL BOMBING

Aiming to assassinate Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet, the IRA bomb the Grand Brighton Hotel. It kills five people, including an MP, but does not injure the Prime Minister.

AND FINALLY...

In 1914, Henry Ford shocked the world by doubling his male Detroit workers' salary to \$5 a day. In October 1916, he surprised his staff again by paying the female workers an **equal wage**.



SUN Saturday October 22 1966

SATURDAY
OCTOBER 22 1966 FOURPENCE No. 653
SUN
THE INDEPENDENT DAILY NEWSPAPER

Killed
by the
mountain
their
fathers
made

From JON AKASS
ABERFAN, Friday

THIS thing is unspeakable. More than 100 little children crushed in a terrible mountain of filth.

I have just been to Pantglas junior school. The place is awful, unthinkable.

It warms with life, lights, people. And there are men and women everywhere, digging, scraping, tugging beams and concrete slabs. Anything rather than have to stop and look at the dirt and think.

The foul piles of slate are everywhere. One part of the school where the youngest children were, is smashed and broken by it. The rest of the school still stands, but the evil stuff is piled in every classroom. The slag heap is still moving, still dangerous, still insistently pushing against the blackness of the sky.

Roll call

Below it, at the school, there is the noise of the emergency lights and the din of bulldozers and shouting men.

At intervals there is a shout of names, room to move, and two men come through the crush carrying a stretcher upon which is a small child wrapped in a grey blanket.

The bodies are being taken to the morgue and austere little chapel, a quarter of a mile away.

The enormity of what has happened has not yet been fully registered, although they are accustomed to these valleys to sudden and cruel deaths.

This morning there was a meeting at Merthyr Vale School, where there was to be a roll call, the reading of a dreadful school register.

Apartness

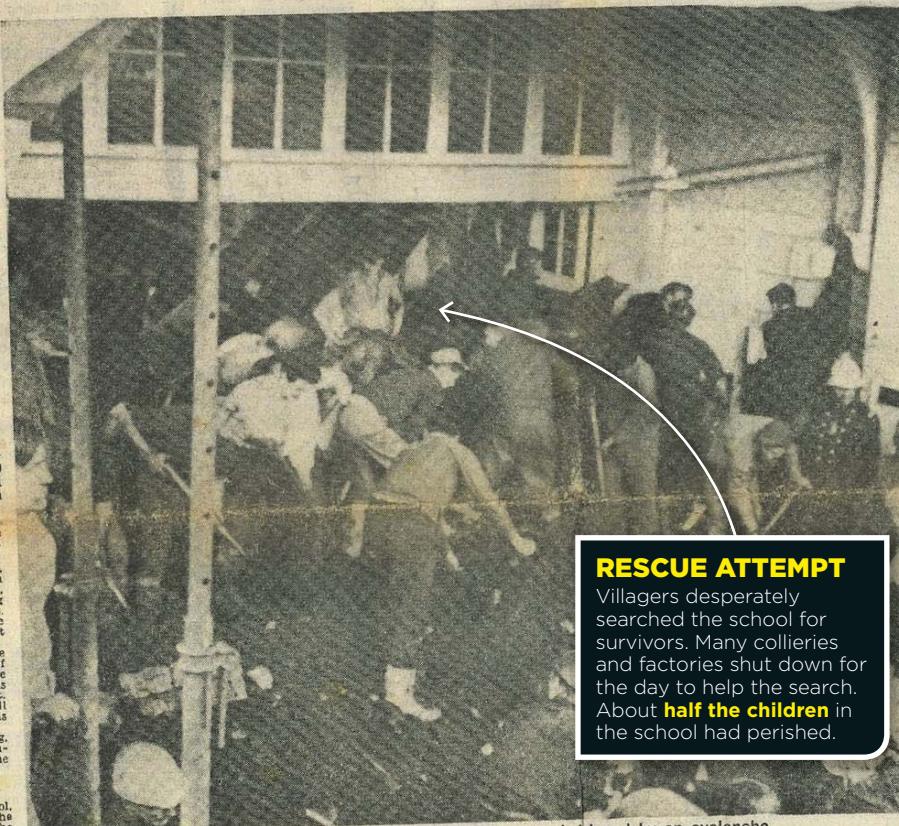
The parents came mostly the mothers, their neighbours holding their arms, keeping their distance, respecting the special apartness, the helplessness of grief.

About two dozen teachers, sitting at desks, desperately trying to bring their only微薄 contribution a little order into the dread and sorrow and confusion. But the dread and the sorrow and a coldness remain.

There were reports at Merthyr Vale that children were still being brought out alive. They were not confirmed at the school in Aberfan.

There are men here who have spent their lives digging the soil of the ground. They have piled it up so that it became a feature of the landscape, a piece of man-made nature permanent as a mountain.

And now it has come down and killed their children. They have the look of men who have known hell.



And still they search. Inside the tomb of a school engulfed by an avalanche.



And still they wait... for news of their children

WILSON AT DISASTER SCENE

THE Prime Minister arrived at the disaster scene last night after flying from Liverpool.

His RAF plane landed at St Athan and he was driven to the emergency headquarters at Merthyr police station.

After a 30-minute conference there, Mr. Wilson toured the stricken village of Aberfan.

Mr. Wilson walked through thick mud to the main entrance of the school just

after the 64th body had been found.

Later he said: "I don't think any of us can find words to describe the tragedy."

"I am concerned to ensure that if steps can be taken even now to save just one life, it would do much."

Mr. Wilson, who had been touring Lancashire's developing areas, was at a civic lunch when he learned of the disaster.

He immediately arranged for Mr. Cleddyw Hughes, Secretary for Wales, to be airlifted to the scene and

asked for reports every half hour.

Mr. Hughes said later: "South Wales has suffered enormous tragedies in the past, but there can be no greater tragedy than this."

He said he was satisfied that everything that could be done was being done.

The Minister for Wales, Mr. George Thomas, told after a special meeting of Merthyr Tydfil council: "The nation's resources are being mobilised."

Also on the scene were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. James

Mallaghan, and the Minister of Power, Mr. Richard Garsh.

Among many messages of sympathy were those from Queen, Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, and the Pope.

Lord Snowdon arrived at Merthyr at 1 a.m. to be allowed later by Prince Philip.

The Welsh Football Association said players would wear black armbands for today's Soccer International between Wales and Scotland.

Ninian Park, Cardiff.

Villagers recalled that the

previous headmaster of the school, Mr. W. J. Williams, who died in March, had often told meetings: "One day we shall all arrive."

The greatest concern of the disaster came in January, 1964, from Councillor Mrs. Gwyneth Williams, who is now dead.

She told Merthyr Tydfil Council's planning committee: "If the tip moves it will threaten the whole school."

Last night the Coal Board said in a statement: "Preliminary investigations suggest that recent abnormal rainfall had so permeated the tip that internal water pressure reached a point which burst the base of the tip and movement down the mountain took place most suddenly."

A Coal Board spokesman said routine inspections of coal tips were carried out as part and parame of the daily programme.

"Coal tips are a prominent feature of Britain's mining area."

In recent years the Coal

Board has levelled many tips.

Fifty disused tips in County Durham have been reclaimed in the past 10 years.

Just after the children

had dispersed from players at Pantglas Junior and Infants School it happened

— and the beginning of the scene.

Bobbing women tore with

VALLEY OF LOST CHILDREN

150 feared dead in black avalanche

Page 3

Diary of a boy called Paul
Pages 6, 7

'Death of a generation
Back Page
The girl who came back

From GODFREY FRANCIS and ALAN ROGERS
ABERFAN, GLAMORGAN, Friday

GRIEF-STRICKEN parents assembled tonight in a schoolroom to hear the death toll of the black avalanche of Aberfan.

Nearby, rescue teams, working by floodlight, were still tearing their way into the black tomb which only this morning was a village school. While they work there is still some hope.

At midnight the number of dead at the school was given as 75, including seven adults. About 60 children and 15 to 20 villagers were reported missing.

Eighty-eight had come from the school alive.

HOPE AND FEAR

The death toll of schoolchildren, teachers and families in nearby houses was once estimated at 200. Now it seems the total may be less than 150.

All day, parents of children at the school have lived through an ordeal of hope and fear. Tonight they assembled in a school two miles from the disaster for a "roll call" of the casualties.

Mr. Thomas Griffiths, Chief Constable of nearby Merthyr Tydfil, took charge. Nearly all the parents stood weeping, unable to speak. As Mr. Griffiths stood up to address them there were cries of: "How many are alive? How many are alive?"

Mr. Griffiths held briefly at what had happened and described the rescue operation.

Then he read out a list of names—the names of children known to be alive.

He could hardly be heard above the sobs.

Nurses moved among the parents to comfort them. Mr. Griffiths told relatives: "Everything possible is being done. We ask you to co-operate by helping us to compile a list of the children."

PROTECTING THEM

The parents then filed into another room where teams of girls were waiting to take names of missing children.

Mr. Griffiths placed his arm round the shoulders of a father who was weeping openly and told him: "I know you think it is easy for me to say it—but don't despair. There must be some hope left. Remember that."

Rescue workers tonight found the body of the deputy head teacher at the stricken Pantglas School—Mr. David Beynon.

One man in the rescue party said: "He was clutching five little children in his arms as if he had been protecting them. He and the river bank were clinging to each other."

Todays disaster has numbed the minds and chilled the hearts of people as no pit tragedy has ever done in a Welsh valley.

Mr. George Thomas, Minister for Wales, said: "A generation of children in the village has been wiped out."

But the danger is not yet over. The mountain of rain-soaked earth which caused the disaster is still moving.

Today started just like any other day for the 5,000 people living in Aberfan, four miles from Merthyr Tydfil.

There was no sign of danger from the 800 feet of slate dust and earth above the village. But heavy rains in the past three days had built up to set the mountain slowly on the move.

ENGULFED

Just after the children had dispersed from players at Pantglas Junior and Infants School it happened

— and the beginning of the scene.

The old school building crumbled like a doll's house.

Inside the building classroom children had time to leap out of a window to safety. Almost 100 managed to get out alive.

But they had prevented anyone from seeing the landslide start, but a sound—like a jet plane, said a child—brought people running to the scene.

Bobbing women tore with

Continued on Page Six

NO REST

Two thousand villagers and emergency services workers continued to **tirelessly dig** through the rubble. People came from all over to help.



YESTERDAY'S PAPERS

On **21 October 1966**, a man-made disaster in the Welsh mining village of Aberfan claims a generation of village children

"THERE CAN BE NO GREATER TRAGEDY"

CLEDWYN HUGHES

The Welsh Valleys were once a heartland for coal mining, creating a visible blot on the verdant landscape: heaps of shale and rock built up to hundreds of metres high, towering over small communities. Aberfan was such a place. With no regulations to stop collieries from dumping wherever they liked, waste piled atop unstable sandstone, with a spring spouting from it. The residents had concerns, but these went ignored, as they threatened the mine's closure.

On the misty morning of 21 October 1966 – the last day before half term – the children of Pantglas Junior School were having the register called out. Though it had been raining for the past fortnight, nothing could dampen the children's spirits, so excited were they for the holidays.

But at 9.20am, an ominous roar came from the hills just behind the school. The water-saturated heap was fit to burst, and began to slide towards the village, reaching speeds of 50mph. Before those inside could react, the school was engulfed in up to ten metres of sludge, which quickly re-solidified. In the tragedy that ensued, 116 pupils and 28 adults died.

People rushed to the scene to retrieve survivors. A few were found, but there was not much that could be done. Though donations to the Aberfan Disaster Fund poured in from around the world, victims and their families had to fight long and hard to access the money. It would be years before an inquest found the National Coal Board was to blame for negligence, before justice could properly be served. However, the villagers – many of whom experienced severe psychological trauma – would be forever haunted by the preventable disaster. ☀

TRAUMATISED

Two young survivors console each other. Some children grew up **feeling guilty** that they had survived, and not their friends.

MASS GRAVE

A temporary mortuary was set up in a tiny village chapel. It was so small that only two lots of relatives could go in at one time to identify their dead children. Some grieving parents queued for hours. The bodies that were found were interred in the village cemetery.



1966 ALSO IN THE NEWS...

4 OCTOBER The Kingdom of Lesotho, a nation entirely surrounded by South Africa, is granted its independence from Britain. Its new government is based upon a British model.

16 OCTOBER Bobby Seale and Huey P Newton create the Black Panther Party. They draft a ten-point plan, outlining their demands to immediately end the inequality suffered by African-Americans.

29 OCTOBER In television, Dr Who experiences his first regeneration. Patrick Troughton took over from William Hartnell after the latter said, "This old body of mine is wearing a bit thin".



TIME CAPSULE OCTOBER

GRAPHIC HISTORY

How a rail service steamed to fame

1883 BIRTH OF THE ORIENT EXPRESS

Its name has become synonymous with luxury travel – and, as the setting for dozens of fictional thrillers – intrigue and mystery. The Orient Express was a rail service that ran from Paris to Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul), created in the Belle Époque by Belgian businessman Georges Nagelmackers. After touring the USA in one of George Pullman's famous 'sleeper' trains, Nagelmackers realised that there was an opportunity to bring luxury rail

travel to Europe, and so he founded his Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits in 1872. Its most famous service was the Orient Express, which made its maiden journey in October 1883. Nagelmackers, wishing to outshine his American competitor, arranged to have rusting old Pullman cars stand adjacent to his train as it left the Paris station. With its deluxe interior and silver service, the Orient Express soon became popular among the rich and famous.

A 19th-century on-board menu

Oysters	***
Soup with Italian pasta	***
Turbot with green sauce	***
Chicken à la chasseur	
Fillet of beef with château potatoes	
Chaud-froid of game animals	
Lettuce	***
Buffet of desserts	***

70 HOURS

The time it took for the train to complete its 3,000-kilometre journey from Paris to Constantinople in 1888

£25

Cost of a single journey in 1936, equivalent to £1,500 today

MURDER ON THE ORIENT EXPRESS

In December 1931, crime novelist Agatha Christie found herself stranded on an Orient Express train following heavy rainfall and flooding. The incident inspired her 1934 murder-mystery, *Murder on the Orient Express*. In fact, a murder did take place on the train, but not until three years after the book was published. Maria Fareasanu, director of a Bucharest fashion school, was robbed by her compartment companion before being pushed out of an open window to her death. When her fox scarf was spotted around the neck of a Swiss lady, police were informed that it had come from 23-year-old student Karl Strasser. He was imprisoned for life.

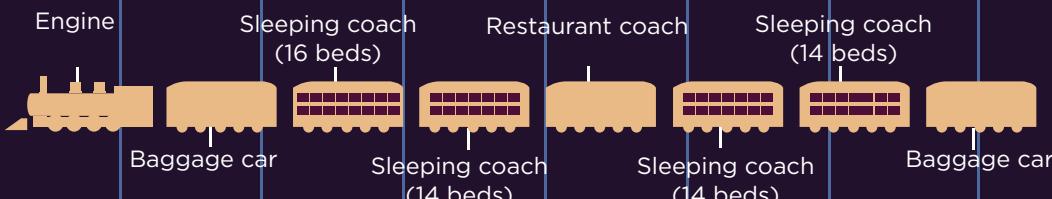
During World War I, the train stopped running. Afterwards, a route was created that bypassed Germany, known as the Simplon Orient Express.

Before 1889, the last leg of the journey to Constantinople had to be made by steamer across the Black Sea from Varna, Bulgaria as the railway wasn't yet completed.

KEY

- Orient Express** 1883–1914, 1919–1939, 1945–1962 with connection over water in the Black Sea until 1889
- Simplon Orient Express** 1919–1939, 1945–1962, **Direct Orient Express** until 1977
- Arlberg Orient Express** 1930–1939, 1945–1962
- Venice Simplon Orient Express** 1982–2005
- OBB EN 262/263 Orient Express Paris-Budapest** 1977–2001; **Paris-Vienna** 2001–2007; **Strasbourg-Vienna** 2007–2009

The original Orient Express ran from Paris to Constantinople, but the origins, destinations and route changed over the years



TRAIN OF KINGS

The Orient Express was known as the 'King of Trains and Train of Kings'. Passengers included Leopold II of Belgium, Tsar Nicholas II and Ferdinand I of Bulgaria, who – being an amateur engineer – insisted on driving the train through his own kingdom. French President Paul Deschanel was also on board – at least for part of his journey. He accidentally fell from his carriage after taking some sleeping pills, and was discovered wandering the tracks in his pyjamas. He resigned shortly after.

10
DECEMBER 2009

The date that the very last Orient Express service departed – a victim of high-speed railways and budget airlines

THE SITE OF TWO SURRENDERS

Both the Armistice of 1918 and the surrender of France in 1940 were signed in a Compagnie des Wagons-Lits carriage. During World War I, the former dining car served as the office of French general Ferdinand Foch, and German officers had signed their surrender document inside. Following the armistice, the car was proudly exhibited in Paris, but when Hitler invaded France over two decades later, he ordered that in turn the French surrender be signed in that same carriage.





WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

Using the innovative new 'Vitaphone' system, sound-on-disc comes to life

1927 THE FIRST 'TALKIE' IS RELEASED

Al Jolson shocks and delights the world with the first feature-length 'talkie', featuring a full two minutes of dialogue

At a New York City cinema on 6 October 1927, filmgoers gathered to watch the premiere of a new Hollywood movie, *The Jazz Singer*. The plot revolved around young Jewish singer Jakie Rabinowitz, torn between his orthodox family and his love of jazz. When Jakie (played by singer Al Jolson) exclaimed, "Wait a minute, wait a minute! You ain't heard nothing yet", viewers gasped with surprise and joy. After all, this was the very first motion picture to feature dialogue and spoken word, otherwise known as a 'talkie'.

METHOD ACTING

Today, few are aware that the story was in fact inspired by Jolson's own life – like Jakie, his father was a cantor (a leader of hymns in synagogues). After seeing Jolson singing in concert, playwright Samson Raphaelson was inspired to write a play about him, which proved a hit on Broadway. Warner Brothers acquired the movie rights, and it was only right that Jolson play the lead. But to appreciate his dazzling vocals, the audience would have to hear his voice. In the era of silent movies, this would be a challenge.

In 1926, the company had introduced a pioneering sound system that would change the

industry forever – Vitaphone. Sound would be recorded on a disc, and it was the job of the cinema projectionist to sync the audio to the picture. Crucially, it meant both dialogue and song could be used in filmmaking. Though Warner Bros had already released two productions using this system, neither contained actual speech.

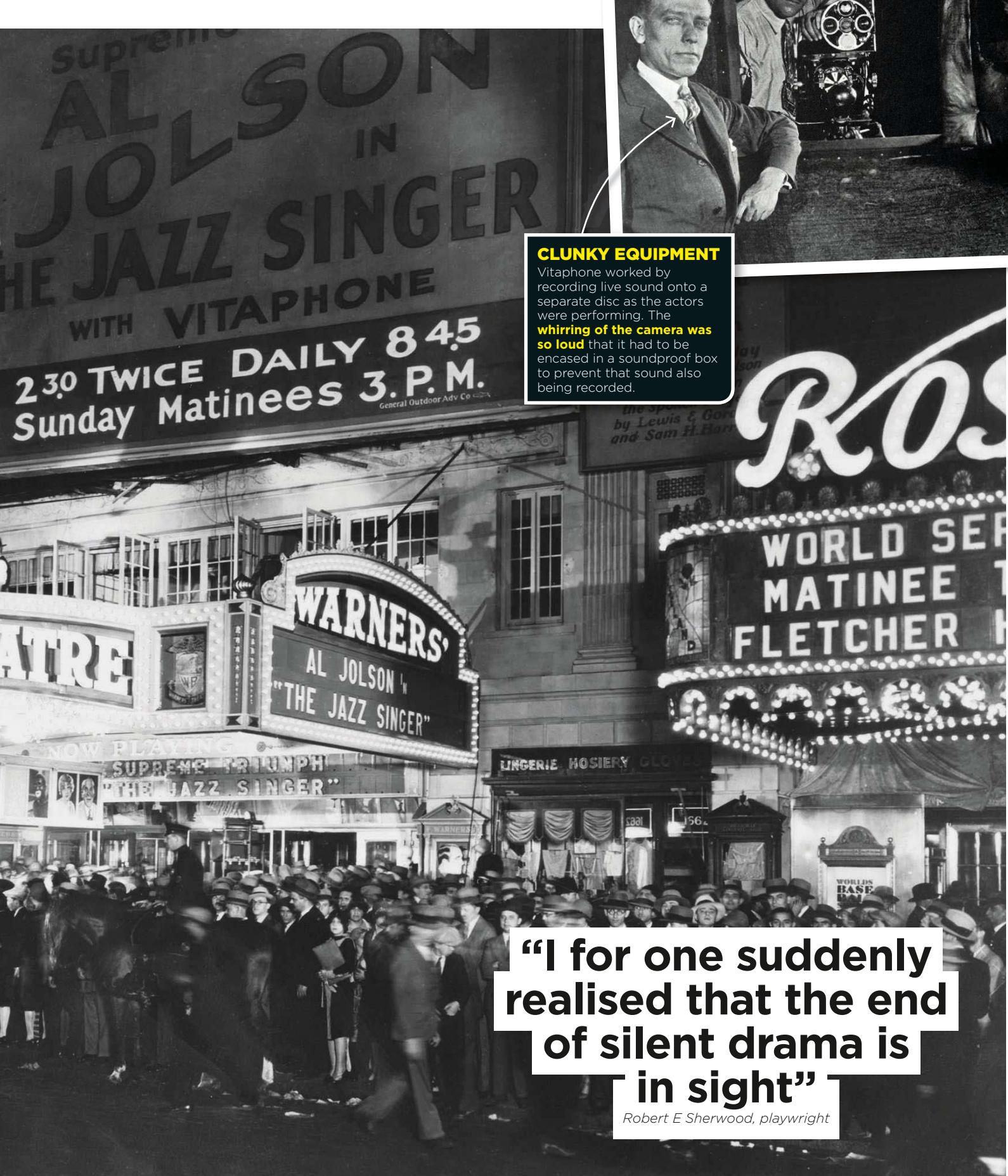
The Jazz Singer cost a monumental \$422,000 to make (\$5.7 million today), and almost bankrupted the studio. Harry Warner even sold his wife's jewellery and moved to a smaller home, just to save his beloved studio. Sadly, Sam Warner – Harry's brother and the film's co-creator – died the day before the premiere.

Filmgoers who flocked to Warners' Theatre soon realised that something magical was happening to the movies, and the public and critics alike raved about the new technology. Although only around 100 cinemas in the US were equipped to show the film with its soundtrack, there was a mad rush soon after *The Jazz Singer*'s release for Vitaphone audio equipment. Ever since Jolson's moving songs brought audiences to tears, the film industry hasn't looked back. ☺

APPROPRIATION

As shocking as it may appear today, blackface was a **common feature in 20th-century entertainment**. It allowed white performers to emulate the sensuality and emotion of black performers without being scorned by audiences.

MUM'S THE WORD
This poster features a famous dialogue scene between Jakie and his mother. In it, he joyfully sings jazz music to her, but his father walks in and stumbles upon Jakie's secret...



CLUNKY EQUIPMENT

Vitaphone worked by recording live sound onto a separate disc as the actors were performing. The **whirring of the camera was so loud** that it had to be encased in a soundproof box to prevent that sound also being recorded.

"I for one suddenly realised that the end of silent drama is in sight"

Robert E Sherwood, playwright



THE EXTRAORDINARY TALE OF...

Edgar Ætheling, a reluctant teenage boy thrust into the top job after the Battle of Hastings

1066 EDGAR ÆTHELING IS PROCLAIMED KING

The tale of a Saxon teen, used as a pawn in the post-1066 power vacuum – England's treacherous game of thrones

England was in disarray after the dramatic Battle of Hastings. The Norman invaders, led by William the Conqueror, were ploughing their way through the country, using brute force to establish their power. The Anglo-Saxon King, Harold Godwinson, had been slain on the battlefield. In a last-ditch attempt to maintain English power, a teenager named Edgar Ætheling was elected as king.

The grandson of legendary Wessex ruler Edmund Ironside, Edgar Ætheling (literally meaning 'prince') spent his early years in exile in Hungary. His father had

fled there after Cnut's takeover of England, but in 1057, Edward the Confessor – the ruler of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, whose prospects in the male line were dwindling – invited the family to come back and for six-year-old Edgar to take his place as the rightful heir.

As the Confessor lay dying, the Witanagemot (early Parliament) selected Harold Godwinson as his successor, since Edgar was just a child. However, the new ruler was killed just ten months after his coronation. While William was consolidating his power, England was left without a king.

POWER PLAY

It seemed that Edgar was the last hope for the Anglo-Saxon rulers. Despite being only around 14 years old, the Witan and supportive Londoners elected the Ætheling as king, in a futile effort to maintain the status quo. But not everyone was a fan. His age meant many were doubtful of his political credentials, which were essential if he was to represent resistance to the

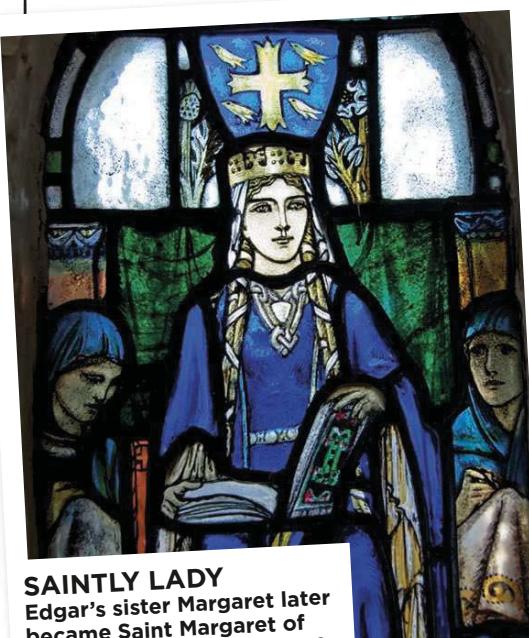
Norman Duke. One of his contemporaries, chronicler Orderic Vitalis, described him as "handsome... eloquent, generous and nobly born – but indolent too". Despite having the support of the Archbishop of York and Londoners, he failed to convince regional powerholders.

Soon, the unwitting young man would find himself a figurehead of the national rebellion against William the Conqueror, but not for long. When the bastard Duke reached London in December

ELUSIVE YOUTH
One of the only surviving images of Edgar comes from a medieval manuscript, depicting his family tree

on him. When the Conqueror returned home to Normandy in 1067, he took Edgar along with him, primarily as a show of power and dominance. The following year, however, the Ætheling and his family fled William's grasp and found refuge with Malcolm, the King of Scotland, who was pleased to have any excuse to get under the Conqueror's skin.

The family and the Scottish king soon became fast friends. They were afforded a high place in his court, and Malcolm even married Edgar's sister, Margaret. However, this tranquil existence was disrupted when a large-scale revolt against William in the north of England began. Edgar, keen on glory, swiftly returned to act as the rebellion's figurehead. It even achieved some early successes, such as in Durham, where they captured the town and burned



SAINTLY LADY
Edgar's sister Margaret later became Saint Margaret of Scotland, canonised in 1250



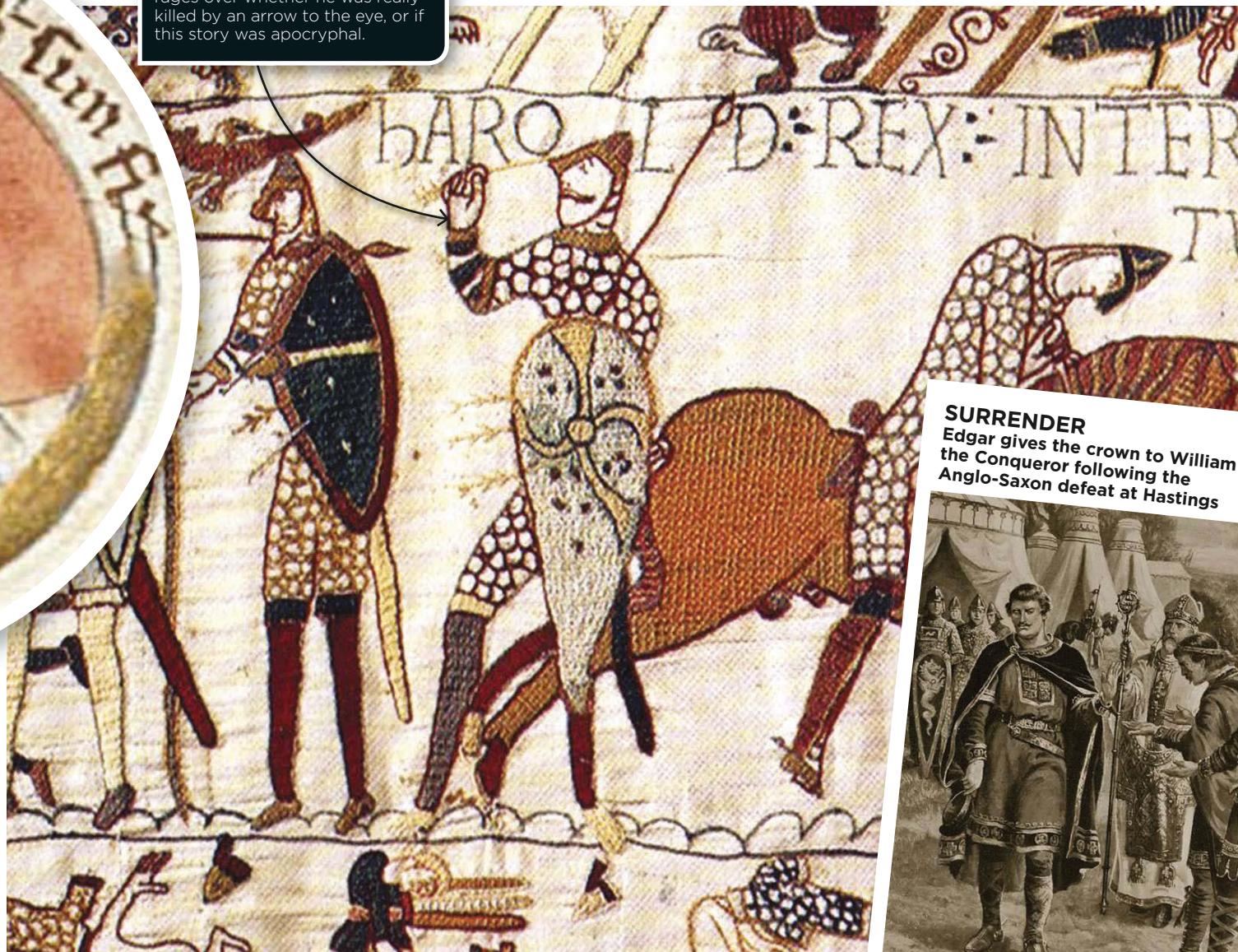
"Chronicler Orderic Vitalis described Edgar as 'Handsome... eloquent, generous and nobly born – but indolent, too'"

1066, having laid waste to much of the country and forced its support, Edgar and the Witan met him and wilfully submitted to the invader.

William took pity on Edgar and not only spared his life, but granted him land, according to the Domesday Book. The teenage pretender was even part of William's coronation procession. However, William didn't fully trust Edgar, and kept a close eye

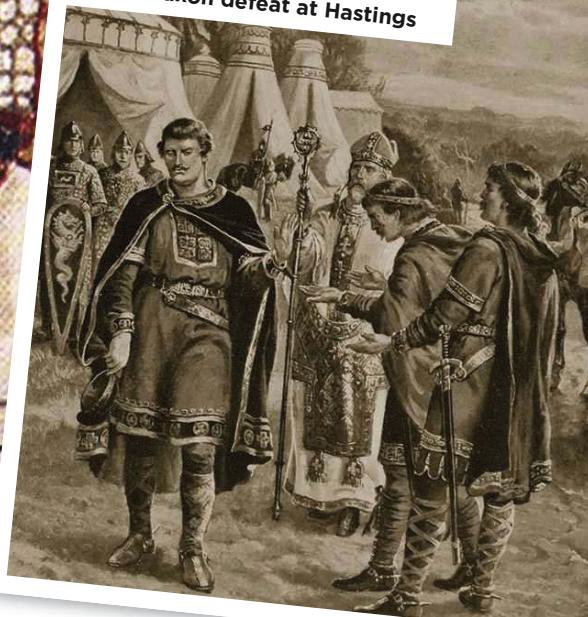
ARROW TO THE EYE

Edgar took the reign as an emergency measure after Harold Godwinson was **killed violently in the Battle of Hastings**. Debate rages over whether he was really killed by an arrow to the eye, or if this story was apocryphal.



SURRENDER

Edgar gives the crown to William the Conqueror following the Anglo-Saxon defeat at Hastings



its Norman overlord alive inside the Bishop's house. However, William's wrath eventually won out. While Edgar fled back to Scotland, the Conqueror initiated his brutal Harrying of the North.

A PRINCE SPURNED

In 1072, the unlucky young man was forced to find a new home again. William, realising that Scotland would continue to be a thorn in his side, marched into the country and demanded Malcolm's complete submission. The Scottish ruler, intimidated by the size of his army, agreed. They declared the Treaty of Abernethy, in which Malcolm became William's client king. Edgar the Ætheling was forced

out of Malcolm's court, as a token gesture of goodwill to William.

Seeing nowhere else to turn, Edgar befriended the Count of Flanders, a sympathetic ruler who was equally hostile to the Normans. According to Vitalis, the two bonded as they had similar, youthful personalities. He lived here for a while, before returning to Scotland briefly. Though William the Conqueror had quashed most of his enemies, Ætheling still attracted support from those few bearing a grudge. Philip I of France was one such person, who in 1074 offered the Ætheling a pleasant castle near Montreuil, which he could use as a base for reclaiming England. Alas, the Prince never got there,

and instead was persuaded by his old friend Malcolm to stop resisting the inevitable dominance of William the Conqueror. A disgruntled Edgar went to Italy, where he stayed for a few years.

However, once William's son William Rufus ascended, Edgar was once again a political pawn. To settle the score between Rufus and his brother Robert Curthose, Ætheling's land in Hertfordshire was taken away from him in 1091. Thinking Malcolm could help, he returned to Scotland, where he ended up actually negotiating peace between him and Rufus (but not before encouraging Malcolm to rebel first). The Normans were here to stay.

Edgar settled in Scotland, where he acted as a diplomat on William Rufus's behalf. The later details of his life are a little hazy, but historians believe that Edgar travelled to the Mediterranean in the first decades of the 12th century – either as part of the First Crusade or a pious pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The teenage prince lived a long life, dying in his 70s. His death marked the end of an era – and the beginning of a new one. ☀



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COVER STORY VIKING ATTACK

RAIDERS TO KINGS

What began as small raids on British coastal towns soon developed into all-out war, as a Great Viking Army arrived with a very different aim: to conquer



ILLUSTRATION: JEAN-MICHEL GIRARD/WWW.THEART-AGENCY.CO.UK, ALAMY X1



Viking Attack

Ryan Lavelle uncovers the story of Vikings in Britain, and how a Danish prince came to take the Anglo-Saxon crown



This year marks the millenary of the acclamation of a prince of Denmark as king of England. The victor of a long and bloody campaign, marrying the widow of his conquered predecessor, Cnut stepped up to the controls of one of the most powerful kingdoms in 11th-century Europe. Remembered in Denmark and much of Scandinavia, but curiously not in England, as Knud den Store – ‘Cnut the Great’ – the new Anglo-Danish King would wield power effectively for some two decades until his death in 1035.

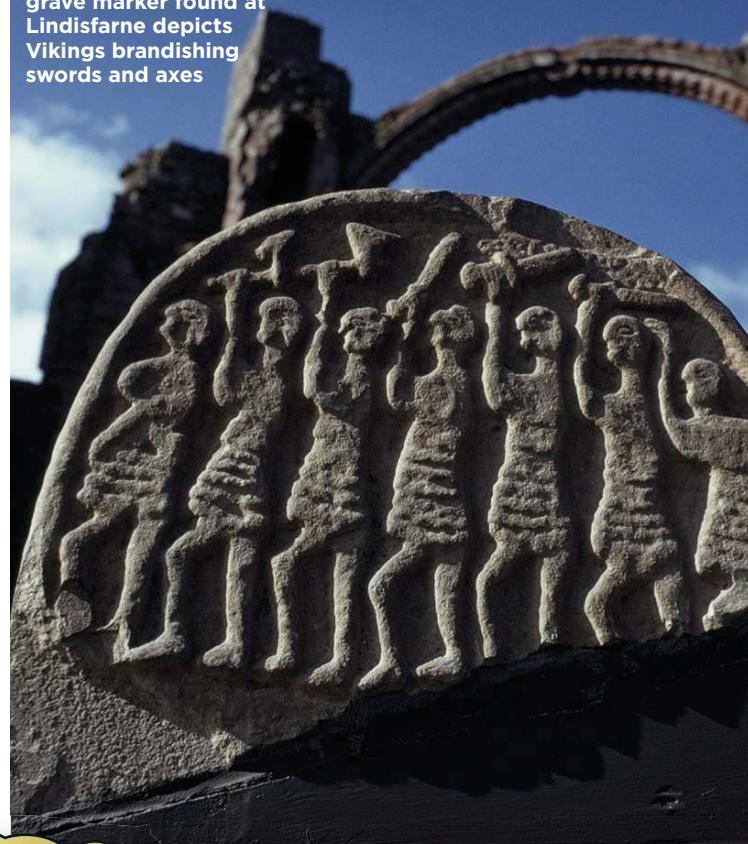
Cnut’s transformation from Viking sea lord to Christian king is a perfect example of the way in which the Vikings themselves had changed. The journey from seasonal raiders and pirates to highly respected rulers had taken a little over two centuries, but it was one of the most important developments in Western Europe. Not only had Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Sweden come of age, but the English and Scottish

kingdoms had emerged in the white heat of the Viking wars.

SLOW START

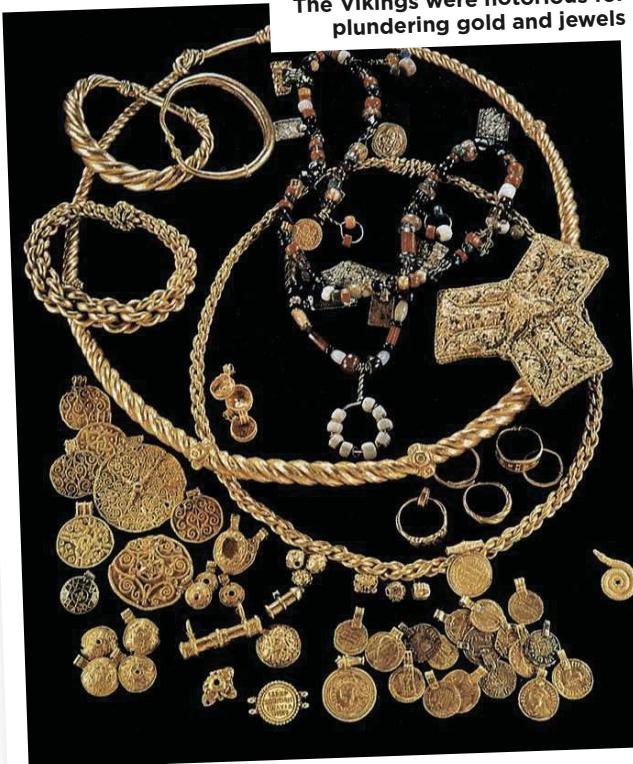
In Britain and Ireland, the age of Norsemen had begun gradually. The first Viking activities were surprisingly small, but they were deadly and had an impact far beyond their size. Flotillas made their way across the North Sea to raid coastal and estuarine sites, particularly monasteries, chock full of treasures as a result of an eighth-century economic boom. Those who embarked on the raids were the happy beneficiaries of developments in maritime technology, which allowed them to set out from Scandinavia confident of being able to return safely again. Though, like other ships of the age, they could be rowed, Viking ships enjoyed beautifully rigged square sails; they had strong keels and well-designed hulls. It has even been argued that Vikings had developed their navigation skills well in advance of other European peoples. While many early

This ninth-century grave marker found at Lindisfarne depicts Vikings brandishing swords and axes



WHO WERE THE VIKINGS?

The Vikings were notorious for plundering gold and jewels



When scholars write about Vikings, they often refer to groups of people from the Scandinavian lands of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. While much of Europe was Christian by the eighth century, these areas were not.

However, not everyone went ‘Viking’ – many continued to farm the land or might return to farming after a few years of raiding, while others such as Anglo-Saxons and Franks might also ‘go Viking’. This was not about belonging to a ‘race’ or even a religion. Being a Viking was an activity.

This became possible because of the development of ship technology, and it was encouraged by the growing strength of Scandinavian chieftains. What better way to enhance a reputation than by taking followers on raids to acquire greater riches? This rather dodgy redistribution of wealth stimulated an international exchange network, meaning that a living could be made by mixing trading and raiding. Vikings might be raiders one day and then sell their ill-gotten gains elsewhere the next.

medieval ships used coastal routes to travel between lands, the new longships could dominate sea roads across open water, perhaps even as early as the 780s and 790s. Writing of the earliest datable Viking raid on the famous monastery of Lindisfarne in June 793, one churchman wrote of surprise “that such an inroad from the sea could be made.”

The writer was Alcuin, formerly a deacon of York Minster, who had risen to become Charlemagne’s right-hand man. Although he was some 500 miles away in the court of Charlemagne, Alcuin conveys some of the sense of the shock of hearing the news of pagan raiders’ actions. To many Christians, the Vikings heralded the apocalypse. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a year-by-year record of events associated with the kingdom of Wessex, reported that the Vikings’ arrival was preceded by freak atmospheric conditions – “dragons” were seen flying across the sky – and indeed one gravestone found at Lindisfarne (above) shows heathen barbarians in apocalyptic terms: the Sun and the Moon, portents of the End of Days when the Sun would turn to darkness and the Moon turn a blood red, are juxtaposed by an image of seven warriors, most of whom brandish surprisingly realistic contemporary weapons. Whoever buried that member of the Lindisfarne community evidently thought that a message had been sent and had to be heeded.

To the average Anglo-Saxon, the tall, bearded Viking warriors would have seemed like giants, and their physique allowed them to swing an axe with great force

36m

The length of the longest Viking ship yet discovered at Roskilde, Denmark. This is the length of four double-decker buses laid end to end.



In these early raids, it was speed and surprise that brought success. Where Vikings are known to have faced opposition, such as down the coast from Lindisfarne, perhaps after a raid on the monastery at Jarrow in 794, local forces could match them effectively. Anglo-Saxon kingdoms themselves had their own share of hardened warriors, whose whole lifestyle was organised towards the defeat of their enemies, and so they were no pushover. But with armies organised for battles fought according to rituals and expectations (at particular places and perhaps even at particular times of the year), they were rarely able to catch more mobile enemies. As one historian aptly put it, the Vikings did not "play by the rules".

HERE TO STAY

In Britain, it all changed when Vikings stopped being summer raiders and

The first Vikings struck Britain in small raiding parties, but by the mid-850s, they had grouped together to form a Great Army

stayed for longer, a strategy they had already been adopting in Ireland. Up until around the 850s, a local population could expect Viking war bands to go away at the end of the summer once the raiding season was over; now, the people were stuck with the enemy at large. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to a "Great Viking Army". The Vikings were showing that they were more than bunches of bearded marauders, but could adapt to learn lessons. Viking forces banded together, tied up their ships and dug ditches and even ramparts to protect themselves. That way they could range further and even take over territory.

The defence of the kingdom of Wessex by Alfred the Great is perhaps the best remembered and most celebrated moment of this period. The other three Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Northumbria,

Mercia and East Anglia, had lost their native rulers, only for them to be replaced by either puppet rulers or by Vikings themselves, but Wessex remained unconquered. The peace treaty that Alfred had negotiated in 871 was exchanged for silver, suggesting that Alfred survived the 870s only by the skin of his teeth.

In 878, the kingdom was briefly taken over by Vikings, but Alfred's return to power showed an iron will. There were enough lords in England willing to choose him rather than a Scandinavian lord, and Alfred evidently worked hard to retain their support. But this was no mean feat. The presence of powerful Scandinavian warlords in the south of England deepened the fissures of political rivalries. A charter from around this time records the confiscation of



1. Lindisfarne, Northumberland

The Holy Island founded in the seventh century by St Cuthbert was subject to an attack by a group of northern raiders in 793, which shocked the Christian world.



2. York, North Yorkshire

A Viking city of the tenth century. Taken over from the Northumbrian kings in 866 and ruled as the heart of an independent kingdom until 954, York retained links with Scandinavia until after 1066.



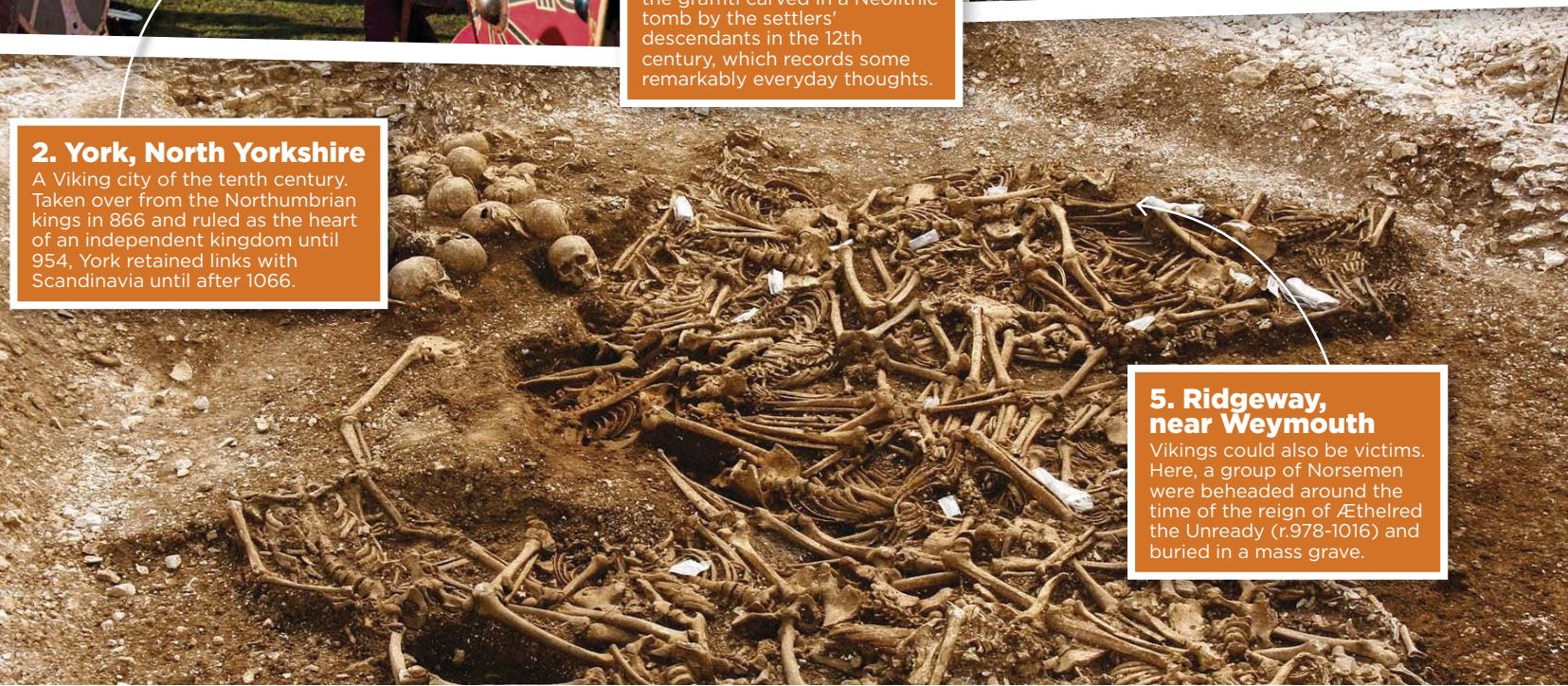
3. Maeshowe, Orkney

The far north of Scotland, including Orkney and Shetland, was an area of extensive Scandinavian settlement. Perhaps the most touching monument to their existence is the graffiti carved in a Neolithic tomb by the settlers' descendants in the 12th century, which records some remarkably everyday thoughts.



4. Repton, Derbyshire

St Wynstan's, a Mercian royal minster church, was used as a winter base by the Great Viking Army in 873. The Vikings' control of this site showed their dominance over the region.



5. Ridgeway, near Weymouth

Vikings could also be victims. Here, a group of Norsemen were beheaded around the time of the reign of Æthelred the Unready (r.978-1016) and buried in a mass grave.



VIKING BRITAIN



The clearest 'Viking' division in Britain is along a line from north of London, running north-west along Watling Street across England, following a treaty made between Alfred the Great and the Viking leader King Guthrum in the wake of the Battle of Edington (878). To the north and east of that line, Viking place-names (ending in the likes of '-by' and '-thorpe') appear every few miles, suggesting that some settlements were dominated by Norse-speaking lords and perhaps even settled by migrants from Scandinavia, who settled in the wake of the Great Army's campaigns in the middle of the ninth century.

York, which was taken over by the Great Army in 866, was an early centre of power, whose hinterland seems to have been settled quickly by new Viking lords who took over (and may have re-named) Anglo-Saxon estates. Elsewhere in England, Lincolnshire and East Anglia – whose connections across the North Sea played an important role in their prosperity – were key areas of Viking settlement. In the north-west, particularly in Cumbria, it has been argued that the settlements of Vikings were from Norway and Ireland. Along the coast of South Wales, a few

Scandinavian place-names can be found (the best example being Swansea, 'Sweyn's Island') suggesting settlements there, in the Irish Sea world dominated by the Vikings of Dublin, were associated with coastal navigation, though there is no clear evidence of permanent settlement in this area.

Recent excavations on the island of Anglesey, on the coast of North Wales, have revealed what has been suggested as a fortified Viking encampment at Llanbedrgoch, complete with the skeletons of victims of some violent activity (perhaps even Vikings themselves). Further north, in the Irish Sea, the Isle of Man appears to have been wholly and permanently taken over by Vikings, perhaps by the early tenth century; there the Viking legacy is deep-rooted. The annual parliament, the Tynwald, has its origins in the Viking *thing* (assembly), and its claim to be the longest continuous parliamentary assembly in the world is a good one. In the north of Scotland, an area subject to kings of Norway (Orkney and Shetland were only ceded to the Scottish crown in 1468 and 1469 respectively), the types of boat burial in the area suggest cultural links with the northern Scandinavian world.

46 MILLION

The number of silver pennies that would have been needed to provide the £192,000 recorded in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* as geld payments between 991 and 1018.



A coin minted in the Viking kingdom of York in the 920s shows the importance of the sword as a symbol of power in the region

land from an ealdorman (governor) of Wiltshire, who had "deserted" both "his lord King Alfred" and his "country", while Alfred's own nephew, the son of his predecessor King Æthelred I (d.871), made common cause with Vikings following Alfred's death.

A POLITICAL FORCE

Alfred had held Wessex for his direct descendants to ensure that it would be the heartland of the English kingdom that was to develop during the tenth century. In Scotland, a similar pattern emerged for the descendants of the famed Kenneth MacAlpin (Cináed mac Alpín), whose kingdom of Alba was established in the vacuum created by the destruction of the power base of the western kingdom of Strathclyde in a particularly vicious Viking attack in 870. But if more powerful kingdoms developed, they had to contend with Vikings as a political force in Britain and Ireland.

A large part of what is now England and much of northern and western Scotland, as well as the Isle of Man and land around the coast of Ireland (Dublin being one of the key examples), became home to Scandinavian settlers, with new Viking lords taking the resources of the local people, which had once been enjoyed by Anglo-Saxon, Pictish and other native rulers. Political control was now the name of the game, and though Wessex had survived with a native dynasty, Scandinavian interests provided a fierce rivalry. The kingdom of York, controlled for generations in the mid-tenth century by competing dynasties with links to Norway, Denmark and

"The Isle of Man appears to have been wholly and permanently taken over by the Vikings"

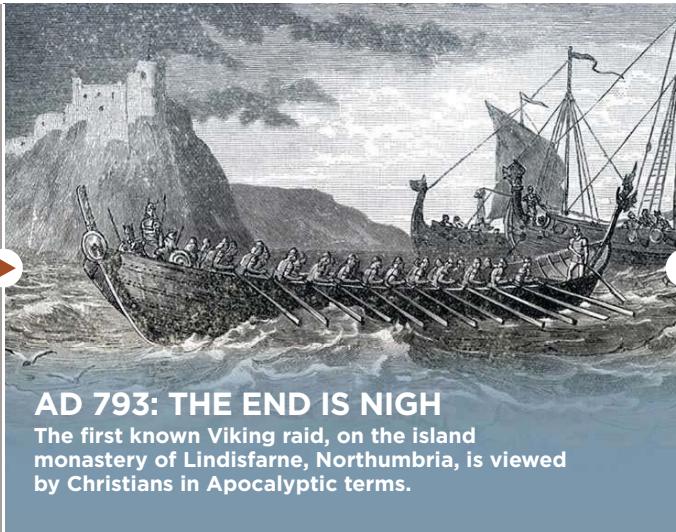


TIMELINE The Vikings

From the very first raids to the rising of the Great Viking Army, uncover the history of the Norsemen in Britain and beyond

AD 792: THREATENED COAST

A charter of the Mercian king Offa records the need to prepare defences in Kent against the 'pagan sailors'.



AD 793: THE END IS NIGH

The first known Viking raid, on the island monastery of Lindisfarne, Northumbria, is viewed by Christians in Apocalyptic terms.

AD 838: MY ENEMY'S ENEMY

At Hingston Down, Cornwall, Vikings and Cornishmen make common cause and fight the Wessex Saxons.

AD 840: OUTSTAYED WELCOME

A Viking fleet overwinters on the shores of Lough Neagh, Ireland.



AD 954: THE END OF ERIK BLOODAXE

The last independent Viking king of York is driven out and killed by his own people; Erik's former kingdom becomes part of a larger English realm.

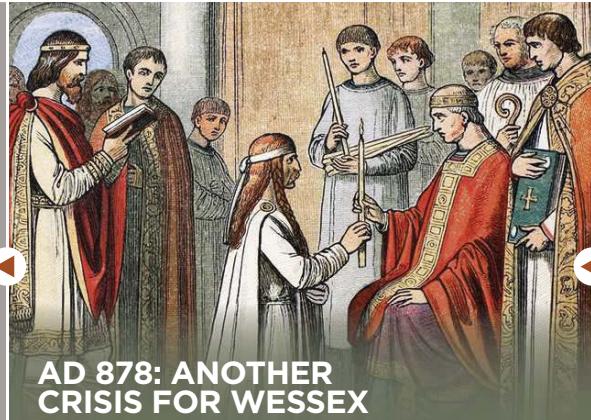
AD 921–2: DIPLOMATIC MISSION

Ahmad ibn Fadlān travels from Baghdad to meet the King of the Volga Bulgars. The record of his journey provides a colourful account of the lives of some of the Viking Rūs he meets along the way.



CIRCA AD 911: LAND OF NORTHMEN

Rollo, leader of a band of Vikings, makes a treaty with the French king; the territory ceded to the *Normanni* becomes Normandy.



AD 878: ANOTHER CRISIS FOR WESSEX

Wessex is taken over by a group of Vikings; following Wessex victory, the Viking leader Guthrum is converted to Christianity with Alfred standing sponsor.

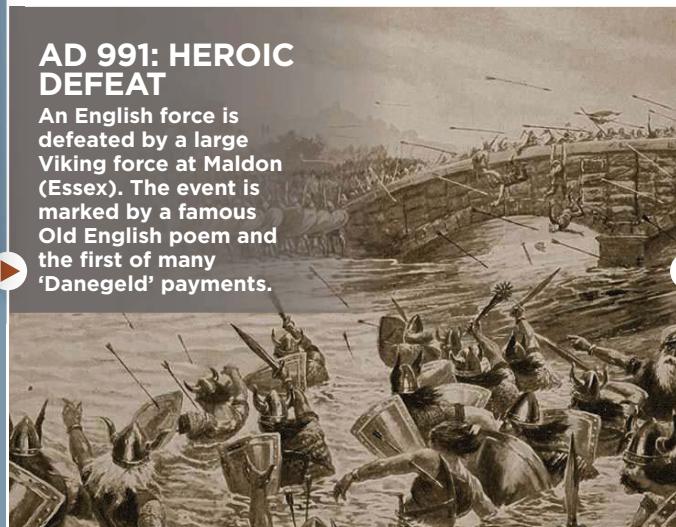
CIRCA AD 965: WRITTEN IN STONE

Harald 'Bluetooth', ruler of Denmark, orders a runestone declaring that he "won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian."



AD 991: HEROIC DEFEAT

An English force is defeated by a large Viking force at Maldon (Essex). The event is marked by a famous Old English poem and the first of many 'Danegeld' payments.



CIRCA 1000: NEW WORLD

Leif Eriksson lands in North America, naming it Vinland because of wild grapes growing there. Facing hostility from the Native Americans, this westernmost settlement is abandoned after just a few years.

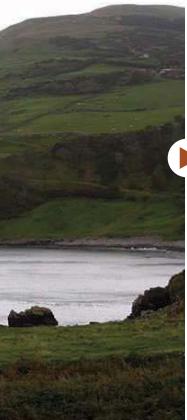


Æthelstan, King of the Anglo-Saxons and later King of the English, married his sister to the Viking king of Denmark after his conversion to Christianity



AD 855: STILL NOT GONE

The first overwintering of a Viking army on mainland Britain, on the Isle of Sheppey, Kent.



CIRCA AD 862: TO RUSSIA WITH LOVE

Rurik, a Viking leader, establishes his rule over the territory of Novgorod, western Russia, allegedly (a chronicler recalls much later) at the invitation of its inhabitants.



AD 869: A RIGHT ROYAL PROBLEM

Vikings overthrow and execute King Edmund of East Anglia, taking over his kingdom.



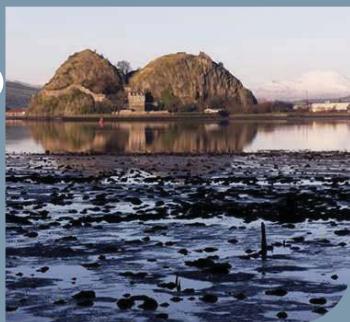
AD 871: CRISIS FOR WESSEX

A 'Year of Nine Battles' against the Vikings for the kingdom of Wessex. Alfred the Great comes to the throne.



AD 870: VIKING SIEGE

The Strathclyde royal stronghold of Dumbarton is besieged by Irish Vikings.



AD 874: THE FRONTIER MOVES WEST

Ingólfur Arnarsson and his foster-brother Hjorleif arrive in Iceland from Norway, setting up the island's first permanent settlement.



1035: END OF AN EMPIRE

Cnut dies in Shaftesbury, Dorset. His two sons, born of different mothers, squabble over the control of England.



1066: END OF AN ERA

The last great Viking King, Harald of Norway, dies at Stamford Bridge near York.

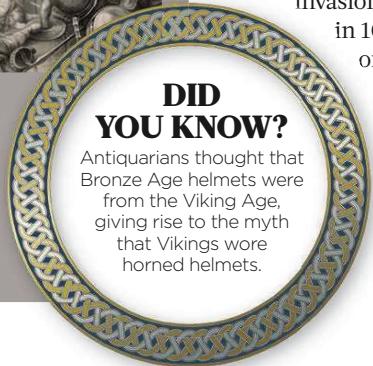
1017: VIKING CONQUEROR

Cnut is crowned king of the English.



DID YOU KNOW?

Antiquarians thought that Bronze Age helmets were from the Viking Age, giving rise to the myth that Vikings wore horned helmets.



Ireland, is the best example of the change, and the kingdom's importance in the tenth century determined the way in which the kingdom of England developed during the course of that century. Until York and its hinterland were finally pulled into the orbit of Wessex dominance following the death of the infamous Erik 'Bloodaxe' in 954, Dublin, York and Scandinavia were part of an archipelago of trade and cultural connections that stretched from the Irish Sea across the North Sea and indeed further, with the Vikings' connections to the Baltic, Eastern Europe and Russia.

FINDING GOD

During this time, many Vikings became converts to Christianity. Though pagan beliefs lingered, and indeed in some places Christ became just one of the many deities to whom one might turn, the adoption of Christianity across the Viking world was what laid the path to political and social change. The change wasn't instant, but importantly, conversion was what allowed such things as a Christian king in England to marry his sister to the ruler of the Viking kingdom. Æthelstan, ruler of Wessex and Mercia, did just this in 926, while his other sisters were married to rulers across Europe. The Vikings were plugging into the Christian world.

In this manner, new invasions of England, spearheaded by the Danish king Sweyn 'Forkbeard', who was active in England in the 990s and the early years of the 11th century, were the work of a Christian prince – more like the invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066 than the depredations of the Great Viking Army in 866. Sweyn was king in Denmark, with a fleet of royal vessels and an army he could call on like the 'feudal' armies of later generations. But something of the Viking remained. William of

RELIGION

Pagan Viking beliefs, whose origins seem to lie in a period long before the Viking Age, include a pantheon of gods, from Odin 'the All-Father' through to the thunder-god Thor, and Freyja, a powerful female deity, whose coat of falcon feathers gave her the ability to fly. Stories were told about the gods inhabiting the stronghold of Ásgard, whose world was linked with the earthly realm by the rainbow-bridge or Bifrost. Gods fought giants and each other, tricked and stole, fell in and out of love, and the world would end in a pre-ordained final battle at the 'Twilight of the Gods' - Ragnarök.

Vikings were able to adapt some of these myths to the Christian views of Doomsday, and Viking art, particularly in the tenth century, reflects the mixture of Christianity and pagan beliefs. However, we should bear in mind that much of what is written about pagan Viking beliefs comes from the 13th-century pen of Snorri Sturluson, a Christian Icelander who was interested in making sense of the beliefs of his pagan ancestors in a way that played down what must have been many local variations in religious beliefs and practice. He says little about the influences of the Sami people (indigenous Scandinavians) and the shamanic practices, which specialists have only begun to appreciate in the last 30 years, and the similarity between Viking cosmology may be the result of contact with Christianity or even the adaptations of stories by Snorri himself.

DID YOU KNOW?

The word 'Viking' ('wicenga') first appears in an English chronicle entry for 879. This is a rare appearance, and 'Dane' or 'Heathen' is more often used by Christian writers to describe Vikings, which is a term that really became popular in the 19th century.



Cnut (right) married Queen Emma (above), the widow of Æthelred the Unready, helping to legitimise his claim to the English throne

Normandy had a legitimate claim to the English kingdom, however shaky. If Sweyn had any claim to England, it was a poor one and no contemporaries

made anything of it, even if

only to deny it. Those who came to England with Sweyn might answer a royal call, but they also came as Vikings because of the opportunities offered by belonging to a massive Viking fleet.

Æthelred was taxing his subjects heavily in response to new Viking raids. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle recorded the amounts increasing in response to each new outrage, from £10,000 pounds (an enormous amount for 991) to £16,000, to £24,000, then to £36,000. Some of the money was given

to Vikings to go away; other sums were paid to groups of mercenaries to take service with the English king.

Such amounts were unsustainable. In 1013, Æthelred was driven from his kingdom and Sweyn acclaimed king by his men. It looked as though he would be the first Viking king of England, as many in the south of England had already surrendered to him, handing over hostages that were then entrusted to his son Cnut, who had accompanied Sweyn from Denmark. The crowning was not to be. Sweyn died in February 1014. Æthelred was recalled from exile by his nobles and Cnut departed for Denmark, pausing only to brutally mutilate the hostages whose care he had been charged with. This was Viking politics at its most savage.

REVENGE OF THE VIKING

It was also typical of early medieval politics that a brutal act was called for in difficult circumstances. Cnut was in a tight spot, and he had to respond in a fashion that sent a message to those who he saw as betraying him. When Cnut returned to England with a vengeance in 1015, he took full advantage of the messy politics of Viking-Age England. He had a



Odin was the Norse god of war and death, a figure shared with Germanic mythology



Much of what we know about Norse religion comes from Snorri Sturluson's 'Edda'



Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, was defeated by Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Stamford Bridge

"King Cnut would have been more a native lord than an invading newcomer"

fleet with him once more, but he was also linked by marriage to the powerful family of the midland noblewoman Aelfgifu of Northampton. To such groups, King Cnut would have been more a native lord than an invading newcomer.

When Cnut was crowned in 1017, he must have seemed like the only 'strong and stable' option for the English nobility. There was an irony here, as his father had caused so much of the upheaval and Cnut had played no small part, but this was not alien to the 11th-century game of thrones.

Cnut was not some pagan newcomer to Christianity, freshly converted. He was part of a royal family that had been Christian for three generations. Following the death of Æthelred's warlike son Edmund 'Ironside', and the exile to Normandy of other sons of Æthelred, Cnut was able to present himself as a legitimate English king. He married Queen Emma, widow of Æthelred and sister of the Norman duke, which gave Cnut the opportunity to whitewash himself with a sense of legitimacy, keeping the ambitions of the exiled princes in check, to boot.

Behind this, however, was the naked reality of power as well as pragmatism, not just on Cnut's part but on those who accepted him as king, such as the powerful Archbishop of York, Wulfstan, who, like Alcuin, had seen the end of days coming with renewed Viking attacks. Unlike Alcuin, Wulfstan was now accommodating himself to the new

order. We can only imagine the eyebrows raised at the news that though Cnut had married Queen Emma, he had not given up his relationship with Aelfgifu. But if Aelfgifu was in Scandinavia and helped Cnut to keep connections there, where new Viking threats might arise from, an English audience might be willing to overlook a few transgressions. Sweyn's kingdom of Denmark was in the hands of Cnut's brother Harald, but Cnut still had a fleet behind him, which he maintained in England for two years after the death of Edmund.

Much of the fleet was dismissed in 1018, again with a massive payment of geld, but Cnut retained the services of forty ships. Following Harald's death around 1018, the kingdom was now Cnut's for the taking and these ships seem to have been important in the campaign. The tables had turned. As king of England, Cnut could now be a Danish king.

From that Danish base, Cnut reclaimed the Norwegian territory that had been subject to his father. Though control of Norway remained a problem for Cnut just as it had been for Sweyn, Cnut was able to make good his claim, ruling Norway through his wife Aelfgifu and their son until 1034. The Scandinavian empire broke up, but the control of this empire was to play a

key role in the downfall of the English kingdom in 1066.

Harald Hardrada ('hard ruler') of Norway presented himself as the heir to the Danish possessions of Cnut's son Harthacnut, making claim to England in the aftermath of the death of Edward the Confessor with an invasion of the north of England in September 1066. After an initial victory at the gates of the great Viking city of York, Harald's Viking strategy was decisively beaten by his namesake, Harold II of England.

The last great battle of the Viking age had been won by an English kingdom that had spent so long fighting the Viking threat, but it was a very different kingdom from that of Alfred, given that the king who fought that battle was part of Cnut's family through marriage. A final twist of fate was that the kingdom was lost as a result, with the Norman Conquest a few days later. Though no one knew it at the time, Britain's Viking Age was over. ☀

GET HOOKED



BOOK

Ryan Lavelle's *Cnut: The North Sea King* is released in December as part of the Penguin Monarchs series. Pre-order your copy for £12.99 at www.amazon.co.uk/d/cka/Cnut-penguin-monarchs/0141979879, or get it on Kindle for £3.99.



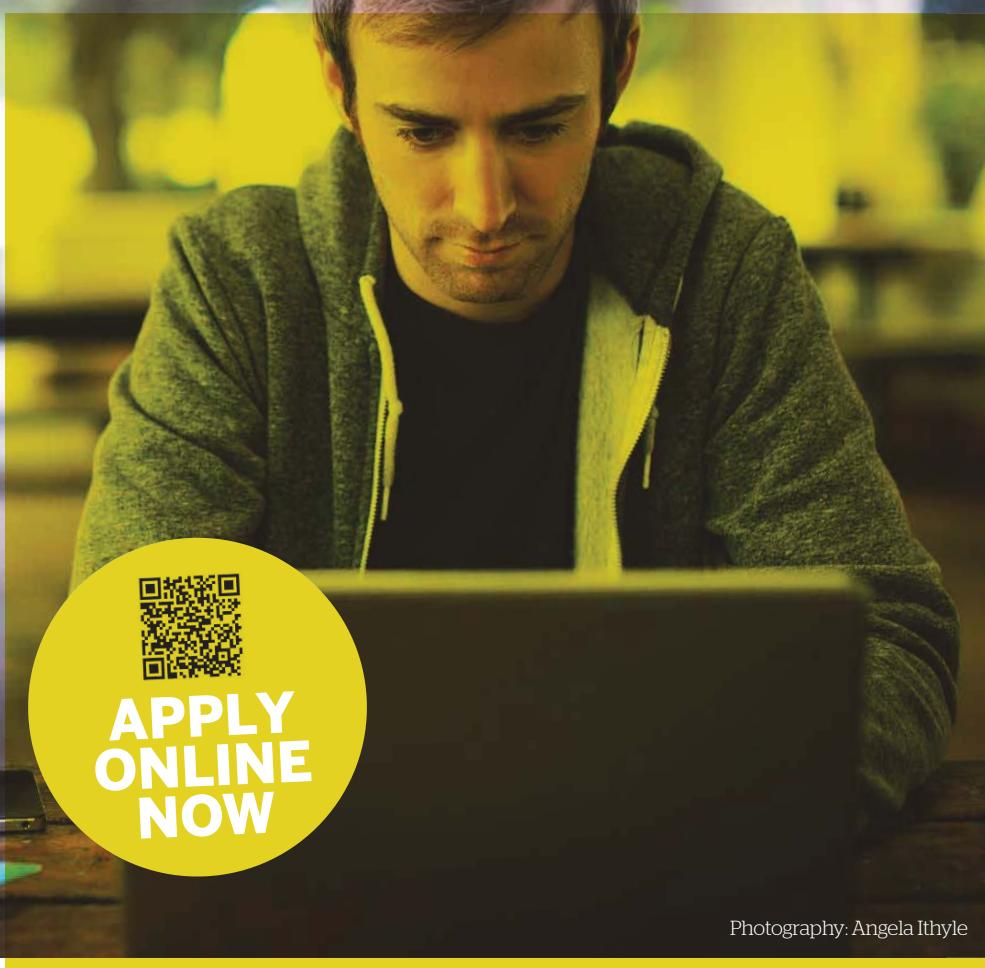
WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Is the Viking influence still visible where you live? Write in and let us know!

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Photography: Angela Ithyle

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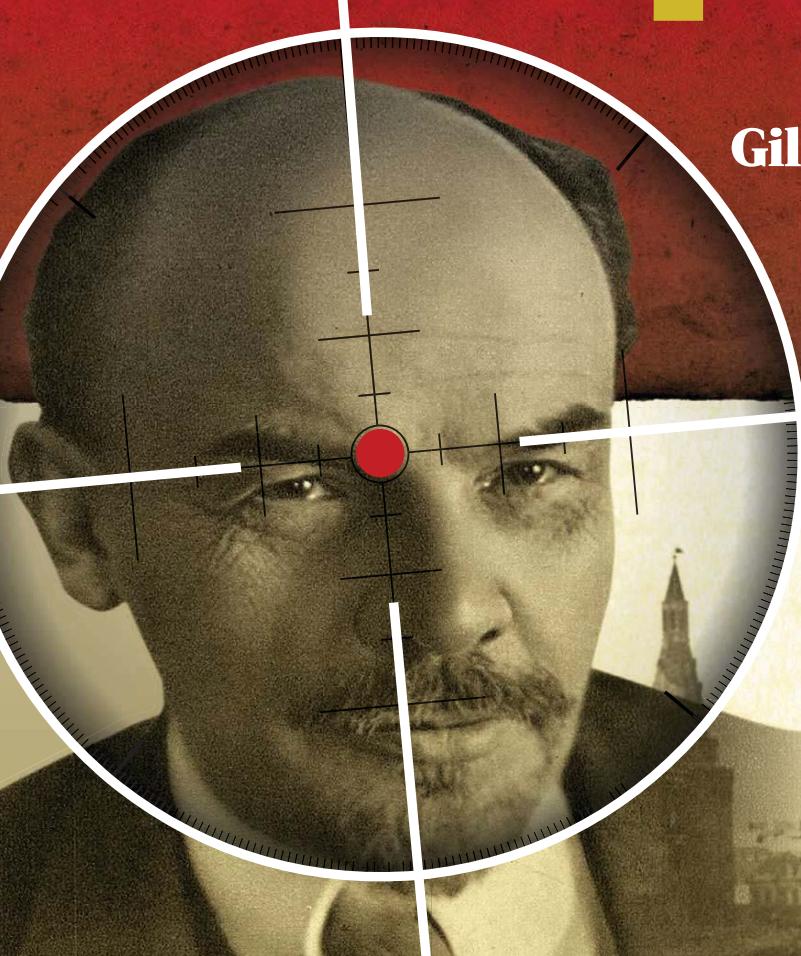
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RUSSIAN ROULETTE



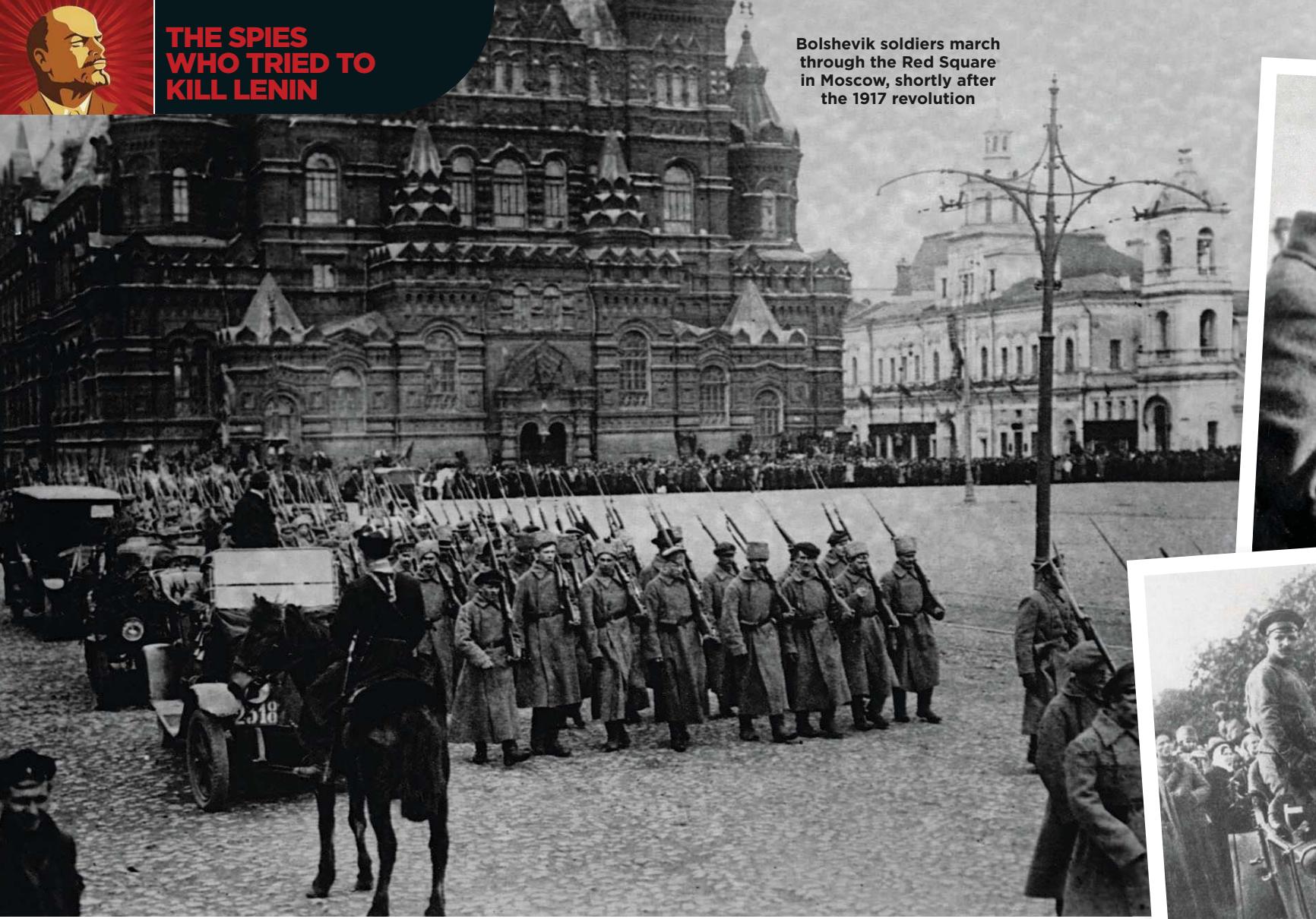
As the curtain fell on World War I,
Giles Milton uncovers the British spies
who attempted to bring down the
West's newest enemy: Lenin

In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution, communism now posed the greatest threat to European political stability, spearheaded by leader of the Russian Republic, Vladimir Lenin





THE SPIES WHO TRIED TO KILL LENIN



Bolshevik soldiers march through the Red Square in Moscow, shortly after the 1917 revolution

The night was thick with frost and the Moon hung low in the sky. On the banks of the River Sestra – the frontier between Finland and Russia – a lone figure could be seen crouching in the shadows.

When he was sure that no one was watching, he slipped into a boat and rowed in silence across the fast-flowing water. It was November 1918, and that shadowy figure was a British spy named Paul Dukes. His codename was 'ST 25', and he was to prove one of the most effective undercover agents ever to work inside an enemy country.

In successfully smuggling himself inside Soviet Russia, Dukes was placing himself in the greatest possible danger. He had come to spy on Lenin's Bolsheviks, working in disguise under a variety of aliases. He had fake identity papers, a list of safe houses, and a network of contacts that he would need if he were to stay one step ahead of the Cheka, Lenin's dreaded secret police.

Dukes had no illusions as to what would happen to him if he were to be caught: there would be a show trial and

then he would be summarily executed. The stakes could scarcely have been higher, but Dukes thrived on danger. In slipping into enemy Russia, he was embarking on a highly dangerous game of Russian roulette.

HOUSE OF CARDS

Paul Dukes was one of a small band of British spies smuggled into Moscow in the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Their task was to infiltrate every branch of Lenin's revolutionary government and subvert the Bolshevik cause wherever possible. It was work of the utmost importance. Lenin's avowed aim was global revolution. He wanted to topple all the Western democracies – governments still reeling from the slaughter of World War I. Revolution was in the air, with violent unrest in Germany and political agitation in Britain. It was felt that one push might bring the whole house down.

Lenin sought to exploit the unrest by founding the Comintern, an organisation whose avowed goal was to spread the gospel of revolution. Paul Dukes and his fellow spies were sent into Russia to

ensure that Lenin failed in his ambition.

Not everything went to plan. There were mishaps, violent shoot-outs and gruesome torture for agents who fell into the hands of the Cheka. But the biggest disaster of all

"After welcoming him into their circle, he was permitted to attend all their most secret meetings"

was home-born. One of the British spies – Sidney Reilly – was to 'go rogue' and wildly exceed his brief. Reilly was not content with stopping Lenin: he vowed to assassinate him.

Reilly's story, along with that of his fellow spies, is more colourful than any James Bond movie. And the plot to kill



Leon Trotsky, 'People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs', makes a speech to soldiers of the Red Army, 1918

Members of the Cheka, the Soviet Union's notorious security service, receive an assignment

Cumming began selecting agents to be smuggled into Russia.

Most of his recruits shared a common skill: a fluency in Russian that would allow them to pose as natives of the country. They had lived among the ex-patriot community of St Petersburg before the war and knew the country intimately.

One of Cumming's early recruits was Arthur Ransome, the only British spy who chose not to live undercover. Nowadays, he is best known as the author of *Swallows and Amazons*, but in 1918, Ransome was working as a foreign correspondent. It gave him the perfect excuse for collecting information about the communist regime.

Ransome soon got to know all the key players of the government, including Lenin, Dzerzhinsky (head of the Cheka) and Trotsky (head of the Red Army).

They all believed his claim that he was a revolutionary sympathiser, one who wished to put a positive gloss on the actions of the new regime. After welcoming him into their circle, he was permitted to attend all their most secret meetings. Ransome gained the particular trust of Trotsky, who never imagined he was passing information back to Mansfield Cumming in London.

Ransome soon fell in love with Trotsky's secretary, Evgenia Shelepin, who typed up Trotsky's correspondence and planned his meetings. Suddenly, Ransome found himself with access to highly secretive documents.

More flamboyant than Ransome was his spy-colleague, George Hill, who

THE SPYMASTER AND HIS SPIES

Key figures of espionage

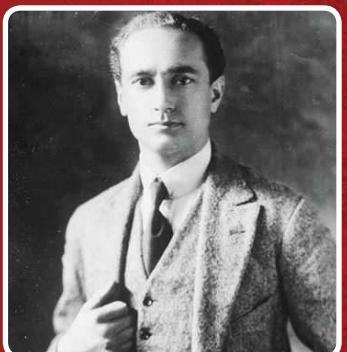
CAPTAIN SIR MANSFIELD SMITH CUMMING

Cumming was the founding father of the Secret Intelligence Service, later MI6. Gruff and avuncular, he was known as 'C' and always signed his documents in green ink. He allegedly cut off his own leg with a penknife after being trapped under a car.



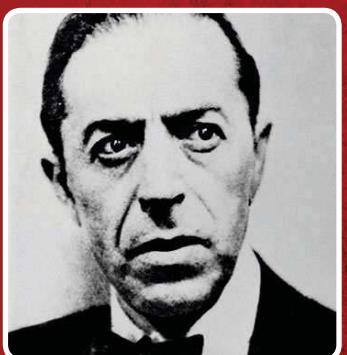
PAUL DUKES

Knighted for his services to espionage, Dukes was known as 'The Man with a Hundred Faces' on account of his multiple disguises. Operating undercover in Russia throughout 1919, he infiltrated the Red Army and Comintern. His codename was ST 25.



SIDNEY REILLY

Known as the 'Ace of Spies', Reilly operated as an agent inside Russia throughout the early years of the revolution. He was a key figure behind the plot to assassinate Lenin. In 1925, he was caught by the OGPU, successor to the Cheka, and executed. His codename was ST 1.



GEORGE HILL

Hill played a vital role in establishing safe houses for the British spies in Moscow, as well as building an effective courier network. He would return to Russia during World War II, helping with the Soviet war effort. His previous work as a spy was never revealed.



ARTHUR RANSOME

Foreign correspondent for the *Daily News*, Ransome covered events before and after the Bolshevik revolution. On close terms with both Lenin and Trotsky, he began an affair with the latter's secretary, Evgenia Shelepin. MI5 wrongly suspected him of being a double-agent.



THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

AT A GLANCE

In autumn 1917, the second revolution within a year gripped Russia. Where the February Revolution had overthrown Tsar Nicholas II, the October Revolution toppled his successor, the Provisional Government. At Lenin's urging, the Bolshevik Party captured key buildings in the capital, Petrograd. Their audacious coup laid the foundations of the world's first communist state and changed the course of Russian history.



TIMELINE OF THE REVOLUTION

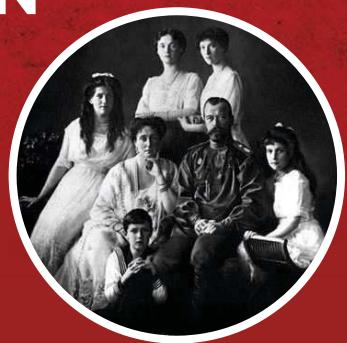
24-25 OCTOBER 1917 (O.S.)

▼ Beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution that will sweep Lenin to power. Within 24 hours, the Bolsheviks seize control of the Winter Palace, the last holdout of the Provisional Government.



15 JANUARY 1918 (O.S.)

The Bolshevik Council of People's Commissars issues a decree forming the Red Army.



23 FEBRUARY 1917 (O.S.*)

▲ The first violent revolution of 1917 leads to Tsar Nicholas II being toppled. A new Provisional Government comes to power.



3 APRIL 1917 (O.S.)

◀ Lenin returns to Russia when the Provisional Government declares an amnesty for political exiles.



2 DECEMBER 1917 (O.S.)

The new revolutionary government signs an armistice with the Central Powers, the first step to Russia withdrawing from World War I.



3 MARCH 1918

▼ The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk marks the end of Russia's participation in World War I.



LENIN

The life and death of a revolutionary

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was an unlikely revolutionary hero. Bald, intellectual and dressed in shabby clothes, his gospel of revolution had long been ridiculed by mandarins in the British Foreign Office. "They pooh-poohed the idea of Lenin having any significance", said Paul Dukes.

But those who heard Lenin speak were amazed by his ability to electrify an audience. One English ex-patriot who watched his famous arrival at Finland Station in April 1917 was spellbound: "He seemed both superhuman and inhuman,

ready to bathe in blood to gain the glorious realisation of his mighty dream."

People scoffed when he vowed to sweep away the old order in Russia. Yet he did that within months of returning to the country from exile. Few believed he would pull Russian forces out of World War I, yet he signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk within five months of sweeping to power. Even fewer believed that he would have Tsar Nicholas II and his family executed, yet he did this in the summer that followed the revolution.

Lenin oversaw some of the worst excesses of the revolution, notably the Red Terror that led to the brutal deaths of perhaps 100,000 people. He also carries much of the blame for the Great Famine of 1921, which led to the deaths of a further five million people.

Lenin died in January 1924. His wife begged for him to be buried, but the communist hierarchy saw political gain in preserving his corpse and placing it on display in a special mausoleum in Red Square, where it remains to this day.



Lenin at a meeting of the Comintern, the organisation that advocated world communism, Moscow 1919



Arthur Ransome (centre), now famous for writing *Swallows and Amazons*, served as a spy for the British government

MARCH 1919

▲ The Comintern (or Third International) is formed in Moscow. Its aim is to spread global revolution.



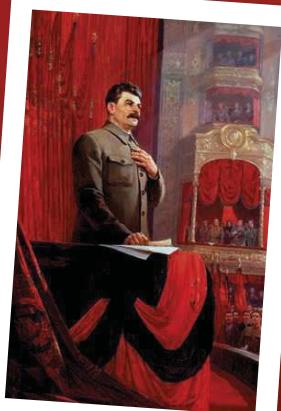
30 AUGUST 1918

▼ An attempt to assassinate Lenin by the socialist revolutionary, Fanny Kaplan, leaves him seriously wounded. It sparks mass executions known as the 'Red Terror'. It also coincides with Reilly's doomed coup.



21 JANUARY 1924

► Lenin dies, leading to a divisive power struggle within the party. Stalin eventually emerges as the USSR's leader. His rival, Leon Trotsky, is dismissed and exiled.



Lenin was considered the people's hero, who had saved Russia from the injustice of imperial rule



*These dates are given in the Old Style (Julian) calendar. Russia changed over to the new calendar (Gregorian) in February 1918.

entered the country in the guise of a Baltic merchant named George Bergmann. Hill-Bergmann was all too aware of the dangers of living undercover. On the day he adopted his Bergmann persona, he had what he described as "a first-class attack of nerves". He knew that if he was unmasked, he would be "outside the law, with no redress if caught - just a summary trial and then up against a wall."

Hill was an expert in invisible inks, codes and bribing his way into the confidence of others. "I always found the value of including in my kit a certain amount of good plain chocolate, half a dozen pairs of ladies' silk stockings and two or three boxes of the more expensive kind of Parisian toilet soap. Presented at the psychological moment, they would unlock doors which neither wine nor gold would open." These unlocked doors enabled him to obtain documents containing priceless information about Lenin's plans to stoke unrest in Europe.

Hill was not only adept at acquiring secret information, but also at getting it back to London. He established a network of couriers who would transport documents from Moscow to Murmansk, from where they would be forwarded to Stockholm and then London. Less than a week after being filched from Bolshevik commissariats, they would be on Mansfield Cumming's desk in London.

After several couriers were caught and executed, Hill changed the system. Henceforth, secret information was typed onto strips of linen and sewn into the collars of the couriers' coats.

Hill had initially based his secret headquarters in the house of a Moscow prostitute. "What was more natural," he reasoned, "than that unknown men should constantly be coming and going in and out of her flat." But he later established a network of safe houses in and around Moscow, including a *dacha* (cottage) in the countryside. It could be used whenever Cheka agents got too close for comfort.

ACE OF SPIES

George Hill worked in tandem with Sidney Reilly, a master-agent of such consummate skill that he would earn himself the moniker of 'Ace of Spies'. Yet Reilly was a controversial figure, who showed such lack of scruples that even Mansfield Cumming hesitated before employing him. Reilly loved to wrap himself in mystery, and invented countless stories about



THE SPIES WHO TRIED TO KILL LENIN



MAIN: Soviet spycatcher Felix Dzerzhinsky is best known for establishing and developing the Russian secret services
RIGHT: MI6 agent George Hill may have been the inspiration behind James Bond



SEDUCTION, SEX AND DANGER

The real James Bond

Which of Mansfield Cumming's spies was the model for James Bond? Ian Fleming would never reveal the source for his fictional hero: "James Bond is just a piece of nonsense I dreamed up," he told inquisitive journalists. But when pressed further about the man behind the spy, he admitted that "Everything I write has a precedent in truth."

In the absence of any hard facts, Bond fans have long searched for the real 007. Some claim that Fleming himself was the model, even though he ridiculed such a suggestion. "I couldn't possibly be James Bond," he said. "He's got more guts than I have."

One of the more plausible candidates is George Hill – aka IK8 – whose outlandish memoir, *Go Spy the Land*, was known to Fleming. Like Bond, Hill dined on champagne and caviar. And like Bond, he enjoyed seduction, sex and danger.

When James Bond was in Russia, he was tracked by the anti-intelligence organisation SMERSH (a Russian portmanteau of 'death to spies'). Hill had an even more sinister enemy in the form of Felix Dzerzhinsky, head of the Cheka, whose task was to capture British spies.

James Bond delighted in gadgets supplied by London. Tear-gas cartridges, tape-recorder cameras and a garrote watch were among his favourites. Where did Fleming find the inspiration for such tools? Once again, Hill fits the bill. He wrote extensively about spy-craft and high-tech gadgets. And he shared one other trait with his fictional alter ego: he was an inveterate womaniser.

his origins. He claimed at various times to have been fathered by an Irish sea captain, at others by an Irish clergyman, and even by a Russian aristocrat.

His mastery of languages amazed all who met him, as did his ability to change identity at the flick of a switch. He could pass himself off as both a native Russian and a native German.

But what struck everyone was Reilly's vaunting ambition. He detested the Bolsheviks, and was dreaming of toppling Lenin's government long before he arrived in the country. When he came to consider who might replace Lenin, he looked no further than the mirror.

"Reilly managed to slip out of Russia by the skin of his teeth"

Reilly entered Russia with two assumed identities. The first was Konstantine Massino, a Levantine merchant dealing in import-export. The second was Mr Constantine, a successful Greek businessman. He kept one step ahead of the Cheka by switching constantly between the two. In the third week of August 1918, Reilly met with George Hill and confided some sensational news. There was a plot to assassinate the entire Bolshevik leadership and he, Reilly, stood at its epicentre.

The extraordinary events that followed were to involve spies, disgruntled army officers and at least one traitor, all of whom conducted themselves with maximum duplicity.

The plot had been conceived in the private apartment of Robert Bruce Lockhart, a young Scottish diplomat sent to Russia by the Foreign Office. His ostensible task was to keep open a channel of communication with Lenin's revolutionary government. But Lockhart was to play a far more devious role, helping to co-ordinate the activities of Cumming's agents inside the country.



Members of the Red Army stand guard outside the Bolshoi Theatre, the host of the 1918 Congress of Soviets

The plot to assassinate Lenin hinged upon two military officials serving in the Latvian regiments that had been hired to protect the Bolshevik leadership. In the summer of 1918, they revealed to Lockhart that these regiments had lost all enthusiasm for their work. They no longer wished to protect the Bolsheviks, but to topple them.

HEART OF THE ENEMY

Reilly, Lockhart and Hill were to play a key role in plotting this coup. It was to take place in the first week of September 1918, during the Congress of Soviets, when all the leading commissars would be assembled under one roof and guarded by the Latvian regiments.

"At a given signal, the soldiers were to close the doors and cover all the people in the theatre with their rifles," Reilly later explained, "while a selected detachment was to secure the persons of Lenin and Trotsky."

But nothing went to plan, and the entire coup was to unravel in quite spectacular fashion. The first person to feel the danger was Lockhart. At 3.30am on Saturday 31 August, he was woken by a rough voice ordering him out of his Moscow bed. "As I opened my eyes, I looked up into the steely barrel of a revolver. Some ten men were in my room." He was led away to the Kremlin for interrogation, unaware of what had gone wrong.

Reilly was in Petrograd when events turned sour. He first realised something was awry when he witnessed Red Army soldiers storming the British Embassy. Lesser men might have made their escape, but not Reilly. He reached

Robert Bruce Lockhart,
a British diplomat and
secret agent, helped to
conceive the plot to
kill Lenin



inside his pocket and felt for the forged Cheka papers of Sigmund Relinsky, his latest assumed identity. Then, with characteristic bravado, he approached an agent standing guard at the embassy gates and asked for information.

He was told that the Cheka "were endeavouring to find one Sidney Reilly and had actually raided the British Embassy in the hope that he would be there." It quickly transpired that Reilly and Lockhart had been betrayed, quite possibly by a Frenchman named René Marchand. He was the correspondent of *Le Figaro* newspaper and had come to hear of the plot. He was also a Bolshevik sympathiser who was on good terms with Dzerzhinsky.

The Cheka were certainly well informed, for they raided dozens of flats and arrested anyone suspected of involvement. Reilly managed to slip out of Russia by the skin of his teeth, as did Hill. His role in the coup d'état was never discovered by the Cheka. But Lockhart found himself in real danger, held for weeks in solitary confinement and threatened with execution.

He was eventually expelled from the country and would never return. At a spectacular show trial held eight weeks after his expulsion, both he and Reilly were sentenced to death in absentia.

This catastrophic setback might have spelled the end for Cumming's operations in Russia. But within months, Reilly and Hill were back inside the country, once again working undercover. This time, they were joined by Paul Dukes, a master of disguise who proved so brilliant at infiltrating the Bolshevik commissariats that he would become the only person ever to be knighted for services to espionage.

Dukes infiltrated both the Bolshevik Party and the Red Army; he even attended closed meetings of the Petrograd Soviet. His greatest coup came when he obtained vital information about Lenin's plot for global revolution from the very heart of the Comintern.



ABOVE LEFT: British spy Paul Dukes' fake identity papers, passing him off as a member of the Red Army
ABOVE: Dukes in his various disguises

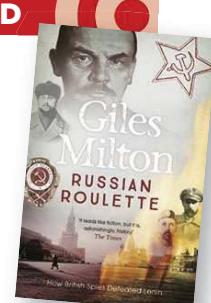
The work of Cumming's agents was to prove of such value to the British government that it was to guarantee the future of MI6, an agency threatened with closure after World War I. It had begun life as a ramshackle network of what Mansfield Cumming referred to as "rascals and scallywags" – agents who could not always be trusted. In little more than a decade, it had become a slick organization that could penetrate to the very heart of enemy governments. Mansfield Cumming had successfully overseen the creation of the world's first professional secret service.

There would always be rogue agents – men like Reilly whose plot to assassinate Lenin was never sanctioned by London. Yet there would be others, such as Paul Dukes, who would live undercover for months on end at great danger to their own lives. Spies continued to work in Russia during the worst of Stalin's purges, and they are almost certainly there to this day. ☉

GET HOOKED

BOOK

To read the full story of the first global plot and the British spies who were sent to thwart it, pick up a copy of Giles Milton's book, *Russian Roulette*. Published by John Murray (2013), RRP £20.



Food that changed the world

Those who suffer from 'hangriness' will be aware of the power that food can have over us, but these examples take the biscuit...



The soaring price of bread was partly responsible for the French Revolution

BREAD

THE CARB THAT SPARKED A REVOLUTION

French peasants longingly looked on as the royal family dined lavishly every night, while they starved to death. That all changed one October morning in 1789, when the markets of Paris turned into scenes of riots and mob rule. Women erupted over the outrageous bread price rises. To the beat of the drum, they marched on the Palace of Versailles, gathering more supporters on the way. Upon arrival, they ransacked the grand palace and forced the cowardly King to come back to Paris - a key event in the French Revolution.

ALAMY X5, GETTY X8, MARY EVANS X1

SALT

SO VALUABLE IT WAS USED AS CURRENCY

There's more to humble table salt than meets the eye. Not only does it add flavour to food, it can also be used as a preservative or even as an antiseptic. It was so prized by ancient peoples that it could be used as payment - this is where the Latin word 'salary' originates. The Romans had other uses for it, too, including as a weapon of war - they would put salt on the soil of conquered towns to spitefully prevent any plant growth.

The word 'salad' also has its origins in salt, as Romans sprinkled it over leafy greens



The tax was imposed in an effort to aid the struggling East India Company, who imported the tea

CORN

THE REAL GOLD OF THE NEW WORLD

When the Pilgrims arrived in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620, they struggled to survive. They found the land inhospitable, and the climate bitter cold. Perhaps they would have perished altogether, had Native Americans not taught them how to cultivate corn, a staple crop in the New World. To celebrate their survival, the settlers and some indigenous people held a joint feast in 1621, which is now believed to be the first thanksgiving. Sadly, the harmony would not last.



Corn was first domesticated in Mexico around 10,000 years ago



SUGAR

NOT AS SWEET AS IT SOUNDS

The saying goes "sugar, spice, and all things nice", but this tasty treat has a rather unsavoury history. When European imperialists realised they could grow it large-scale in the American colonies and gain vast profits, they needed cheap labour to produce it. So began the brutal slave trade.



TEA

THE HERB PERMANENTLY INFUSED IN BOSTON HARBOUR

Nothing says British Imperialism like a steaming hot brew. In 1773, some Bostonians took issue with the taxes imposed on tea, coining the famous slogan "no taxation without representation". In protest, they threw hundreds of chests of tea into the harbour, an event that became known as the Boston Tea Party. The conflict developed into the American Revolutionary War.



SPAM

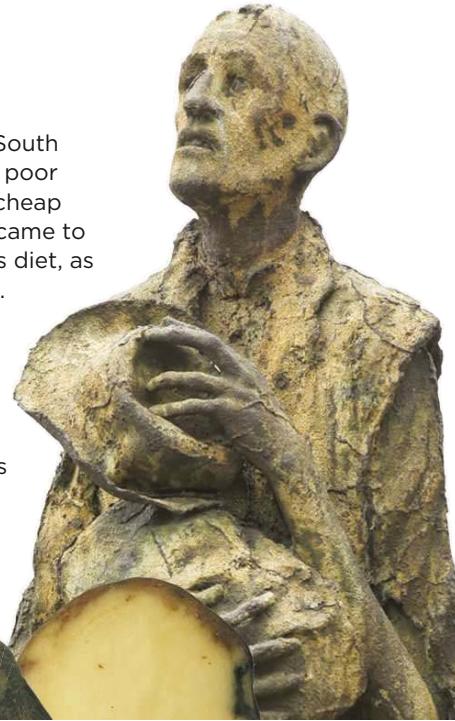
MYSTERY MEAT THAT FED THE WORLD

This cheap blend of salty luncheon meat, invented in 1927, helped the US keep troops well-fed in wartime. Known affectionately as "ham that didn't pass its physical", the canned meat was easy to distribute as rations, and soon, nearly 50 million tonnes of the stuff was shipped to Europe as part of the Lend-Lease agreement. Khrushchev himself even said, "Without Spam we wouldn't have been able to feed our armies".

POTATOES

FILLING, BUT FRAGILE

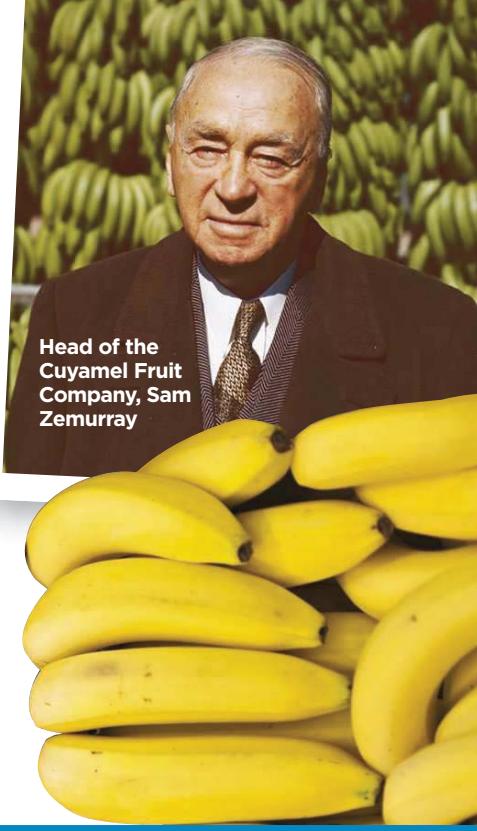
Introduced to Europe from South America in the 16th century, poor folks loved the starchy and cheap spud. In Ireland, the potato came to form the basis of a peasant's diet, as a result of harsh British laws. Sadly, blight swept through the island and destroyed the potato crop, killing about a million people. Millions more migrated from Ireland to the Americas - creating a large Irish diaspora.



BANANAS

A POLITICAL TOOL?

There's a reason why some nations are called "banana republics". When Northern American farmers grew tired of trying to grow the tropical fruit in their own chilly climes, they realised that it would be easier (and cheaper) to grow it in Latin America instead. US fruit companies moved in to countries like Honduras and built infrastructure in exchange for land, gaining themselves a great deal of political power. In 1911, when the Cuyamel Fruit Company fell out with the Honduran government, it helped to arrange a coup that eventually overthrew the president.



SPICE

HEATING UP GLOBAL POLITICS



Ever since antiquity, Europeans and Arabs had been travelling to Asia in search of seasoning, creating powerful trading kingdoms along the way. So when the Ottomans blockaded the traditional land route, the Portuguese had to find a way around. Vasco da Gama (*left*) volunteered for the job, and became the first European to reach India by sea, ushering in widespread European influence in the region.

HONEY

MAKER OF STICKY SITUATIONS

The sweet concoction carefully crafted by bees was loved in the pre-sugarcane world, including by the Romans, who had made a number of enemies. In Turkey, a tribe decided to get its own back on the legions by placing honeycombs made from poisonous rhododendrons along the route. The Romans lapped it up, suffered hysterical fits, and were easily defeated by the locals.



The Romans were like bees to honey when Turkish tribes played a mean trick



WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Know any other foods that have really made a meal of things? Let us know!

Email: editor@historyrevealed.com



GREAT ADVENTURES
PAN-AMERICAN
HIGHWAY

NO ROAD? NO PROBLEM!

The team forced their motor vehicle along brutally rugged mule routes across much of Mexico, including one 50-mile stretch that took 25 days to cross



One car.
Two continents.
Three men.

COURTESY OF THE JIM BENJAMINSON COLLECTION X2

Pat Kinsella traces the tortured tyre tracks of a trio of adventurers on the Richardson Pan-American Highway Expedition, as they adventure south from Detroit to Cape Horn



“We give you here the
realistic story of men trying to
follow by automobile, the
route that will one day
**be the greatest highway
in the world”**

Sullivan C Richardson introduces the film Adventure South



GREAT ADVENTURES PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY

Just before midnight on Monday 18 November 1940, three men steered a heavily laden sedan car out of Detroit and began driving south-west across the US. They would keep rolling south, through Mexico, Central and South America, until terra firma (or their luck) ran out.

In an era when roads were mere rumours across much of the sub-Arizona Americas, the intrepid trio intended to prove the conjoined-twin continents could potentially be culturally connected by a tarmac umbilicus. They were evangelists of the Pan-American dream, writ large on the door of their car: ¡Viva el Panamericanismo!

THREE UNWISE MEN

Dismissed as fools at the outset, Richardson, Whitaker and Van Hee ultimately proved the Pan-American Highway was more than a pipedream. Following their expedition, sealed surfaces swiftly snaked along the tyre tracks left in the mud by these three pioneers, from Mexico to the Panama Canal.

As expedition leader, journalist Sullivan Richardson's vision extended well beyond Panama, but in 1940, he had no idea what he would achieve as he motored off the map with his two companions, a typewriter and a 16mm Kodachrome movie camera. "We were off on the great adventure," he wrote. "We were happily ignorant. It was enough that we were started."

They seemed almost to revel in their newfound reputation as Pan-American mavericks when such accusations were leveled at them by commentators, incredulous at the scale of their ill-advised undertaking. "You're three damn fools," we were told, too often to fight about it," Richardson said later.

Yet Richardson's employers at *The Detroit News* were willing to take a punt on their roving reporter's ability to endure the horror, heat and hardships he would encounter en route to Cape Horn; he found two teammates to accompany him through deserts, jungles and mountain ranges; and the Chrysler Corporation was sufficiently convinced about the value of the adventure to provide a new 1941 Plymouth car.

Mexico-born Richardson spoke some Spanish, was comfortable with the customs and diet, and clued up about the country they were traversing – but even he was shocked at the state of the roads they encountered after leaving the US.

The expedition could have stayed on good US roads longer, and made use of better tracks along the east coast of Mexico to the capital, but Richardson stubbornly stuck to his plan of hugging the Pacific, where he'd been warned the going would be tough. Immediately they had to tackle 1,000 miles of rude, muddy trails, turned to glop by a six-day rainstorm that swept through just before they began.

Repeatedly, the Plymouth skidded into deep holes and became stuck in quagmires. Many times, locals hauled them from the mud with mules and bulls, and rafted their heavy car

THE MAIN PLAYERS



SULLIVAN C. RICHARDSON

Born to a poor family in Mexico, close to the border with the US, 'Sullie' was the 17th child of 20 children. A journalist and filmmaker, he led the expedition, acted as navigator and translator, and meticulously recorded its progress on paper and film.



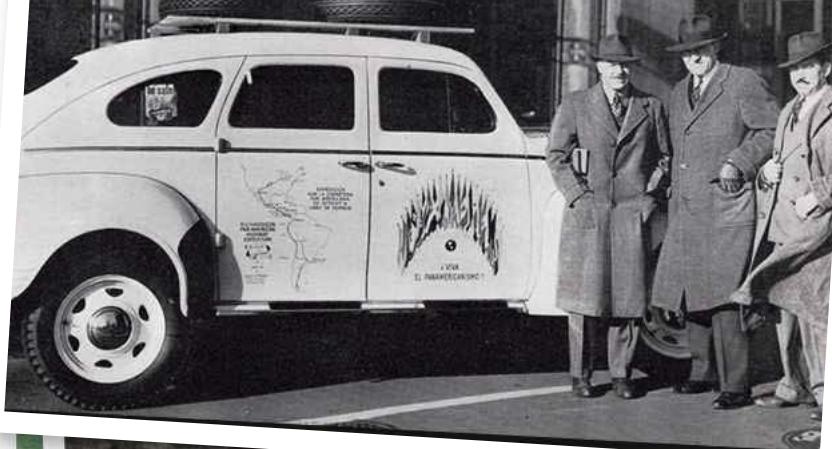
ARNOLD WHITAKER

The youngest of the group, Whitaker was the expedition mechanic who kept the Plymouth purring through the toughest imaginable conditions. In 1943-44, he drove through Mexico and Central America with Sullivan a second time in a four-wheel-drive weapons carrier, on a scouting mission for the future US vice-president Nelson Rockefeller.



KENNETH VAN HEE

A friend of Whitaker's, Van Hee was the expedition cook. He spent most of World War II in Trinidad, before returning to the US to work for the America Automobile Association (AAA) as a field and road reporter, driving around 90,000 miles per year. In the 1950s, Van Hee and Whitaker returned to Mexico to chart the country's roads for the AAA.



"MEXICO MUD IS HELL"

The three mavericks set off along the sodden Pan-American Highway in a heavily laden Chrysler Plymouth



GEOGRAPHY

The Convention on the Pan-American Highway was signed in 1936, yet four years later, the route was ill-defined and extremely rough. Richardson relied on gut instinct and local directions to navigate, and the expedition was dependent on good will throughout, from locals, farmers, fellow travellers and businesses.

1 18 NOVEMBER 1940 Detroit, United States

The trio sets off on the easy leg of the expedition, from Detroit to the Mexico border, enjoying good-quality roads across the US.

importance of the highway. They depart on Christmas Day, passing Popocatépetl, an active volcano just south of the city, taking treacherous mountain tracks towards Oaxaca.

2 30 NOVEMBER Nogales, US-Mexico border

The expedition crosses into Mexico and drives toward Guaymas, making 54 miles during the first afternoon. Soon, however, everything changes, as infrastructure and sealed surfaces evaporate and the adventure proper begins.

After three months on the road, and with Sullivan having just flown back to the US for spare parts, the car enters Central America by crossing the Talisman Bridge from Mexico into Guatemala.

3 10 DECEMBER Mazatlán, Mexico

Having spent ten days dragging the Plymouth through the mud, the three celebrate Mazatlán's paved streets, ice cream, Coca-Cola and ocean views. To save money, they sleep rough on a rock by the sea.

Racing (in vain) against the approaching rains, the trio thunder along the good roads of Guatemala and El Salvador, before coming unstuck in the muck of Honduras and Nicaragua, where their progress slows.

4 15-25 DECEMBER Mexico City

A fraction of the size of the modern megropolis, the trio find Mexico City a pleasant place with good roads and enjoy a meeting with the future president, Miguel Aleman, impressing on him the

After five months on the road, the Plymouth is placed on a train to Puntarenas to circumvent Cerro de la Muerte (the Mountain of Death), and then another train to David, Panama's second city, from where they drive to Panama City.





GREAT ADVENTURES PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY



COMIC RELIEF
Despite crossing treacherous rivers in Mexico (left) and rough sleeping in Chile (right), the expedition members still found time for frivolity as they posed at the equator monument in Ecuador



across unbridged rivers. "In all the southern Republics we have yet to see a Latin American pass someone who might be in trouble without stopping to see if help is needed," wrote Richardson. "The practice is as fundamental as a cross above their churches."

Around Río Hondo, conditions were especially brutal. "One day we drove only 25 yards," Richardson says on the film he made during the expedition. "It's heartbreaking toil, but we're determined not to turn back."

It took ten terrible days to reach Mazatlán, where they camped on a rock by the sea, watching locals risk their lives leaping from the cliffs. "These Mexican daredevils would think nothing of doing a swan dive where angels would fear to fly," gasped Richardson.

After enduring another 600 miles of rough road to Mexico City, across desert and scrub, the trio met lawyer Miguel Alemán Valdés, who would become president. Inspired by their Pan-American passion, Alemán later poured millions into the highway.

The expedition battled onwards to Oaxaca, diverting to visit the 2,000-year-old gold-sodden Zapotec city of Monte Albán. Excavations of these ruins had only begun nine years earlier, and Richardson was eager to reveal the extraordinary site to an American audience, complete with its stone carvings depicting public castrations. By now, mangled by two months of travel along terrible tracks, the Plymouth too was half castrated. The exhaust was irreparably damaged, and Richardson flew back to Detroit for spare parts.

Although the US was yet to wade in, World War II was raging and a reliable road route to the Panama Canal was now an issue of high importance. Richardson met with top brass in the State Department, and based on his reports, development money began to flow along the Pan-American Highway.

Meanwhile, Whitaker and Van Hee managed to keep the Plymouth purring, motoring around mountains and jolting through jungles towards Tapachula near the Guatemalan border, where Richardson rejoined them.

SMOOTH RIDE

After three mad months in Mexico, the gang drove into Central America across the Talisman Bridge.

Richardson enthused about Guatemala's colourfully costumed 'Indians', beautiful villages and perfectly shaped volcanoes, but most of all he went in raptures about the driving conditions. The "all-weather road" owed

its quality to General Jorge Ubico, Guatemala's repressive president, whose prize possession was a Harley Davidson. "We enjoyed those roads built for Mr Ubico's motorcycle," Richardson wryly noted.

Lapping up the luxurious under-tyre terrain, the expedition visited the Mayan settlement of Lake Atitlán, before spending three days travelling to Antigua, the ornate (albeit earthquake-battered) former capital of Spain's Central American empire, which Richardson was eager to film for a western audience.

Continuing into El Salvador, they found a small, pretty and progressive republic, with

mostly paved roads, where their arrival was eagerly anticipated by the press and the public. It couldn't last long, however, and in Honduras the road turned to dust, despite the country having received a big cash injection from the US specifically for the highway.

Nicaragua, in the grip of US-supported dictatorship led by Anastasio Somoza García, was no better, but they kept going, several times resorting to driving along railway lines, without permission or knowledge of when a train might turn the corner.

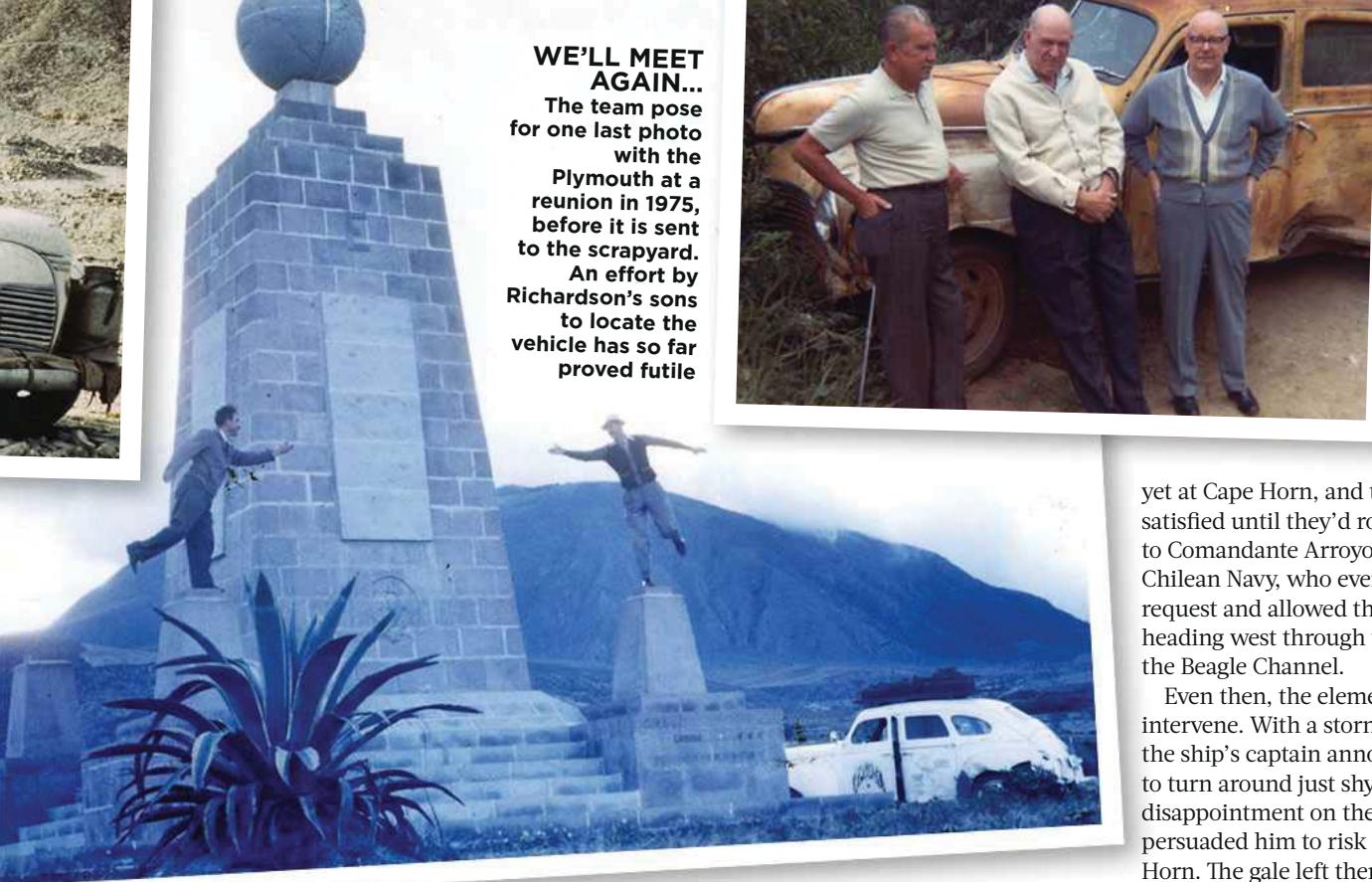
Rain and mud greeted the expedition in Costa Rica, and they were regularly forced to rely on the assistance of *sabaneros* to continue. Beyond San José, however, a major obstacle loomed that even the cowboys couldn't help them conquer.

Cerro de la Muerte (the Mountain of Death) had earned its name, and was completely impassable in the wet, so for the first time since departing Detroit, the Plymouth's wheels left the ground and it was loaded onto a train to Puntarenas. From here, the explorers sensibly took a boat around southern Costa Rica's impenetrable jungle to Puerto Armuelles in Panama, and then another train to David, from where the road was just about drive-able to the Panama Canal. They happily celebrated reaching the banks of the canal by filling a bucket from the waterway and tossing it over the long-suffering car. It had taken them five full months to get here – twice as long as predicted.

South of the Panama Canal, the Plymouth was loaded onto a boat to leapfrog the untamed wilderness of the Darién Gap – the only place where the Pan-American Highway still falters, unable to push through the lawless jungle and murky swampland.

3

The number of times wheels literally fell off the car



WE'LL MEET AGAIN...
The team pose for one last photo with the Plymouth at a reunion in 1975, before it is sent to the scrapyard. An effort by Richardson's sons to locate the vehicle has so far proved futile

"A major obstacle loomed that even the cowboys couldn't help them conquer"

Arriving in Colombia at Buenaventura, the threesome took a train to Cali, then drove to Bogotá, where they learned the locomotive they'd just left had crashed during its return route, with several fatalities. Leaving the Colombian capital, the expedition shivered back across the Andes, passing through Popayán, Pasto, Ipiales and into Ecuador at Tulcán, from where a series of valleys took them to Quito.

More non-driving sections followed, including a train trip from Cajabamba through Canyon Diablo to the affluent but sweaty Ecuadorian city of Guayaquil, followed by a ride on a steamer to Talara in Peru, from where they motored along to Lima. Five hundred miles of driving along a ribbon of rubble between the Pacific and the Andes, through an apparently infinite desert, delivered the adventurers into the arms of Chile, a country that would please, tease and torture the trio in equal measure.

From Arica they encountered the ultra-arid Atacama Desert, travelling over 100 miles without seeing a living thing or a drop of moisture, and losing a wheel while driving, thanks to the perpetual jarring of the wicked washboard roads. Incredibly, the accident happened within 30 miles of a Nitrate Company with a fleet of Plymouths they were able to access for spare parts.

A second wheel sheared clean in a less serendipitous spot, and Richardson was forced to hitch to Santiago to buy a spare spindle and

send a mechanic out to find Whitaker and Van Hee in the stricken Plymouth.

Reunited in the Chilean capital, the men discovered the mountain passes ahead were all snowbound. Instead, they loaded the car onto the Trans-Andean Railroad and "crossed into Argentina through the long tunnel at the top of the universe," to arrive at Punta de Vacas. Travelling via Mendoza and Bahía Blanca, they avoided Buenos Aires and branched south through Patagonia, twice blowing the Plymouth's head gasket en route.

In Argentina, they were joined by another driver in a second car. Valdemar Melton had been sent to accompany the expedition by the country's Chrysler importers, but soon the reasonable roads ran out, and within four weeks his nerves were shot to pieces by the harrowing driving conditions.

"You boys go ahead," he said, while bailing out at Río Gallegos, having been forced to abandon his car some distance before. "You fellows have got guts... I wouldn't try that road tomorrow for fifty thousand dollars."

Passing back into Chile in southern Patagonia, with the end almost in sight, the Plymouth became stuck fast in the filth of El Distrito Chocolate. Briefly, it looked like they were going to be thwarted at the final hurdle, but a freak overnight freeze rendered the mud solid just long enough for them to escape and reach Magallanes (modern-day Punta Arenas).



On Tuesday 29 July 1941, the day the Japanese armies rolled into Indochina, *The Detroit News* carried a headline about the Plymouth reaching the planet's southernmost city.

But they were not yet at Cape Horn, and the crew wouldn't be satisfied until they'd rounded it. They appealed to Comandante Arroyo, Vice Admiral of the Chilean Navy, who eventually relented to their request and allowed them passage on a steamer heading west through the Strait of Magellan and the Beagle Channel.

Even then, the elements attempted to intervene. With a storm bearing down on them, the ship's captain announced his intention to turn around just shy of the Cape, but the disappointment on the faces of his guests persuaded him to risk the full route around the Horn. The gale left them petrified, but at 3pm on 19 August 1941, nine months and one day after leaving Detroit, the three mavericks of the Richardson Pan-American Highway Expedition rounded the tip of South America. ◉

GET HOOKED

WATCH

Dara and Ed's Big Adventure – Two Irish comedians, Dara Ó Briain and Ed Byrne, recreate the expedition from the Mexico border to the Panama Canal.

READ

Adventure South, by Sullivan C Richardson (if you can find a rare copy). For something a little different, try *Road Fever* by Tim Cahill, a lively account of the adventure writer's record-breaking drive along the Pan-American Highway.

VISIT

www.plymouthbulletin.com/adventure01

WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

Once on dry land, the travellers had to negotiate their way back to Detroit. The car and everything in it – including all Richardson's notes and film footage – was very nearly lost when the Plymouth almost rolled overboard while being loaded onto a boat, but disaster was narrowly avoided (at the expense of much damage to the vehicle). After sailing to Buenos Aires, they drove 3,500 miles through Bolivia and Peru, and from Lima took the Santa Clara to New York. The book *Adventure South* was published in 1942, and Richardson toured almost every state in the US screening the film and lecturing about the Pan-American Highway, which bit-by-bit was paved all the way to the Panama Canal.



BATTLEFIELD THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

The Battle of the Bulge was Germany's last great tank offensive in World War II. Despite an Allied victory, it incurred the largest number of American casualties of any other WWII operation.

CHRISTMAS CHEER

American C-47 transport planes deliver much-needed supplies to their hard-pressed comrades in Bastogne.



BATTLE CONTEXT

Where

Ardennes Forest, Belgium and Luxembourg

When

16 December 1944 to 25 January 1945

Who

Germans (von Rundstedt, von Manteuffel, Dietrich)

250,000 men rising to 400,000

Allies (Eisenhower, Montgomery, Bradley, Patton)

85,000 men rising to 600,000

Why

German attempt to break through to the Channel ports

Result

Allied victory

Hitler's last gamble

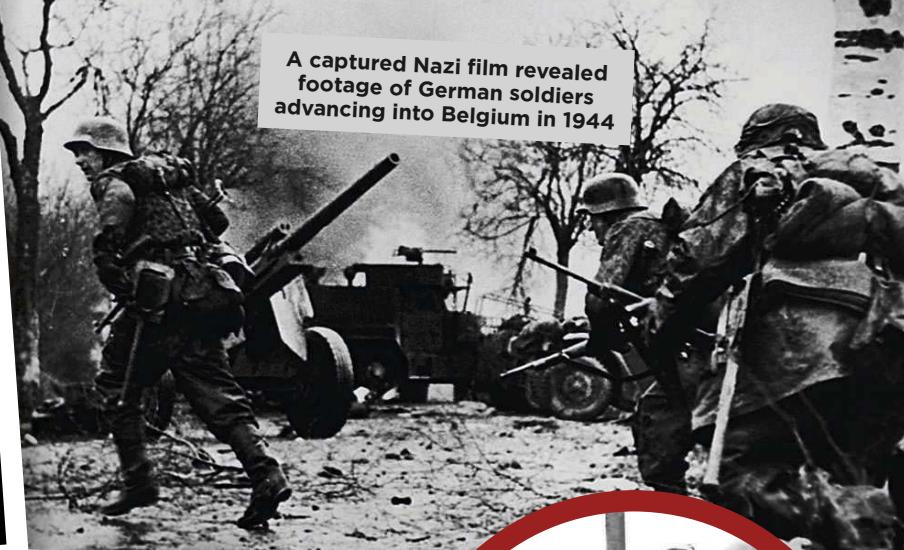
The German attack in the Ardennes in December 1944 caught the Americans by surprise and caused a major 'bulge' in the front line. **Julian Humphrys** tells the story



Adolf Hitler (seated) and Nazi military leader Hermann Göring (left) pore over the plans for a winter offensive that would become known as the Battle of the Bulge

MASTERMIND OR MADMAN?

Hitler considered himself a master strategist, and frequently ignored the advice of his generals.



A captured Nazi film revealed footage of German soldiers advancing into Belgium in 1944

FRIEND OR FOE?



German corporal Wilhelm Schmidt was captured in American uniform and executed

A key component of the German plans for the Ardennes offensive was a secret mission codenamed Operation Greif. Acting on the direct orders of Adolf Hitler, veteran SS Commando Otto Skorzeny kitted out English-speaking German soldiers in American uniforms and equipped them with captured weapons and jeeps. Then, posing as GIs, they slipped through American lines. It was hoped that they would be able to seize an important bridge across the river Meuse.

They didn't manage to do this but, even so, they drove around cutting telephone lines, switching road signs and generally causing as much havoc as they could. When a rumour spread that they were planning to kidnap General Eisenhower, the Allied Commander found himself confined in his headquarters for security reasons. Suspicious US troops set up checkpoints and quizzed passers-by on the names of state capitals and American popular culture to confirm they were who they said they were. British Field Marshal

Montgomery had the tyres shot out from his jeep when his driver drove through such a road block, while General Omar Bradley recalled having to confirm his identity on three occasions: "The first time by identifying Springfield as the capital of Illinois; the second by locating the guard between the centre and the tackle on a line of scrimmage; the third time by naming the then-current spouse of a blonde named Betty Grable."

3,000 civilians were killed during the battle

Troy Middleton, the American commander in the Ardennes in late 1944, was worried. He only had four divisions to hold an 88-mile front and of these, two had been sent there for a rest after some heavy fighting and two more were completely inexperienced. But when he shared his concerns with Omar Bradley, his army commander, Bradley brushed them aside. Even though the Germans had attacked through the Ardennes in 1940, he was confident that the Germans were far too weak to mount a major offensive there now. "Don't worry, Troy," he said, "they won't come through here." But Hitler had other ideas.

As 1944 drew to a close and enemy forces converged on the Reich from both east and west, the German leader had come up with an ambitious plan that he believed would restore his faltering fortunes. His armies would do as they had done in May 1940 and smash through the lightly defended hills and woods of the Ardennes. Then, after crossing the river Meuse, they would push north and seize the port of Antwerp, separating the Americans from their British and Canadian allies who would be cut off and destroyed. Hitler believed that the western alliance would then collapse, freeing Germany to deal with the Red Army on the Eastern

Front. But when he unveiled his plan to his senior commanders, they were utterly dismayed. Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, his Commander-in-Chief in the west, later wrote: "It was obvious to me that the available forces were far too small – in fact, no soldier really believed that the aim of reaching Antwerp was really practicable. But I knew by now that it was useless to protest to Hitler about the possibility of anything."

Even the fanatically loyal SS General Sepp Dietrich was

pessimistic, complaining that "All Hitler wants me to do is to cross a river, capture Brussels and then go on and take Antwerp. And all this in the worst time of the year... when the snow is waist deep."

Von Rundstedt's appeals for a more limited attack were dismissed, and when he received Hitler's orders for the operation, the words "Not to be altered" were scrawled across them in the Führer's handwriting. Operating under strict radio silence, the Germans secretly moved 18



BATTLEFIELD THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

divisions into their assault positions. Even the hooves of their 50,000 transport horses were muffled with straw to ensure that no sound would give the game away. Then, just before dawn on 16 December, all hell broke loose. After unleashing a devastating artillery barrage, the Germans pushed forward to attack the American lines. To help their troops advance, the Germans used 'artificial moonlight', bouncing the beams of their searchlights off the clouds overhead, and in the eerie light they looked like ghost soldiers as they advanced through the snow-covered woods wearing their white winter camouflage.

The Americans were taken completely by surprise, and it wasn't until later that afternoon that they realised that this was something more than a minor local attack. By that time, many of their forward units had been overrun, and others were streaming back in full retreat. In the confusion, the inexperienced 106th Division stood its ground instead of falling back to a more secure position. Two of its three infantry regiments were surrounded and forced to surrender. More than 6,500

soldiers were taken prisoner.

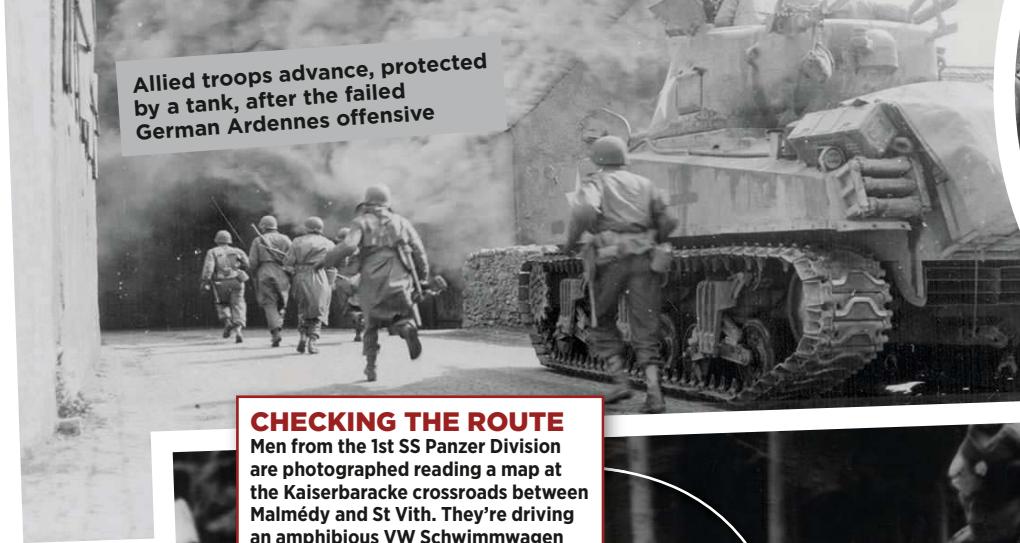
Gradually, American resistance stiffened. The elite SS divisions of Sepp Dietrich's 6th Panzer Army found that the narrow bridges and winding roads in the northern part of the Ardennes

were a major obstacle.

Hampered by wider and heavier tanks, the Germans were unable to move through the area anything like as speedily as they had during the blitzkrieg of May 1940.

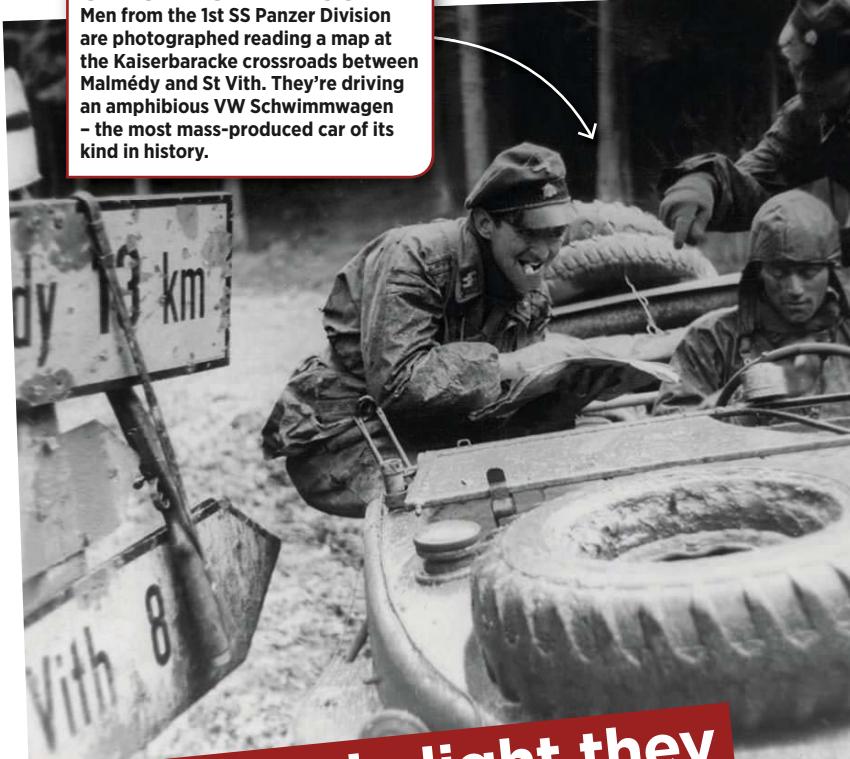
Dietrich's men were further delayed by determined resistance around the important road junction at St Vith and the ridge at Elsenborn, and when the Americans were forced to fall back, their engineers frustrated the German battle groups by blowing up bridges to block their advance. Further south, where the going was easier, General von Manteuffel's 5th Army made better progress, and it was the 60 miles he eventually advanced that

Allied troops advance, protected by a tank, after the failed German Ardennes offensive



CHECKING THE ROUTE

Men from the 1st SS Panzer Division are photographed reading a map at the Kaiserbaracke crossroads between Malmedy and St Vith. They're driving an amphibious VW Schwimmwagen – the most mass-produced car of its kind in history.



"In the eerie light they looked like ghost soldiers"

WEATHER WOES

Because the Germans had waited until snow and thick fog had grounded the Allies' aircraft before launching their attack, troops on both sides had to contend with near-Arctic conditions as well as enemy gunfire and shelling. Blizzards often reduced visibility to almost zero, digging foxholes in the rock-hard earth was an exhausting task, and tanks often had to be chiselled out of the ice after freezing to the ground overnight. Many wounded soldiers froze to death before they could be rescued, and thousands of American GIs had to be treated for cases of frostbite and trench foot.

The American defenders of Bastogne suffered particularly badly. Priority had been given to the supply of fuel and ammunition, with the result that most of them were still in their summer uniforms. They could not light fires as that would give away their position, and there was no opportunity to wash, shave or put on dry socks.



American infantrymen of the 290th Regiment crouch in the snow near Amonines, Belgium

NO WAY THROUGH
Thick sloping armour made the tank virtually impervious to a frontal attack.





MONTY TAKES A HAND

▲ To prevent the German advance from severing communications between American troops on the northern and southern sides of the bulge, Eisenhower (left) gave Field Marshal Montgomery (right), Commander of the British 21st Army Group, operational control in the north. 'Monty' handled things competently and capably, but his exaggeration of his own role in the defeat of the German offensive did nothing to foster Anglo-American harmony.

HARD GOING

◀ Elite Waffen-SS troops spearheaded the German advance in the north, but they found the going tough.

TANK BUSTER

The Royal Tiger's powerful 88mm gun was a force to be reckoned with.



THE GAMBLE THAT FAILED

Hitler hoped his troops would reach the Channel ports, but faced with declining fuel reserves and growing Allied resistance, they never even crossed the Meuse river...

1. Fighting in difficult terrain, Dietrich's 6th Panzer Army makes slow progress.

2. Von Manteuffel's 5th Army makes better progress and eventually advances 60 miles.

3. American troops, including the 101st Airborne Division, hold out in Bastogne.

4. Patton's 3rd US Army counter-attacks from the south.

ROYAL TIGER

▼ Germany's Panzer VI Mark II, or Royal Tiger, was the most powerful tank of the entire war. Its thick sloping frontal armour was normally impervious to anything an Allied tank could fire at it, while its own long 88mm gun could knock out an Allied Sherman tank at a range of more than a mile. But its massive weight – more than 67 tons – caused it real problems when trying to cross small bridges. If it broke down, it could block a road for hours, as the only thing that was powerful enough to shift it was another Tiger. Orders for 1,500 of these behemoths were placed, but Allied bombing ensured that fewer than 500 had been produced by the end of the war.





BATTLEFIELD THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

caused the salient, or 'bulge', in the front line that gave the battle its name.

By 20 December, his forces had reached Bastogne, a small town where several important roads met. Despite being surrounded, the soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division who had been rushed in to defend it refused to surrender, and drove back all attempts to dislodge them. Many wore white bed sheets supplied by local residents as camouflage. Manteuffel's soldiers pushed on towards the Meuse, but the American defence proved a thorn in their side, disrupting their supply routes and forcing them to divert troops to continue the siege.

By now, the Allied commanders were getting a grip on the battle. Realising that it would be much easier to destroy the Germans when they were out in the open rather than when they were dug in on the defensive, Eisenhower (the Allied Supreme Commander) told his generals that "the present situation is to be regarded as one of

opportunity for us... There will be only cheerful faces at this table."

General Patton, who was in command of the US 3rd Army south of the bulge, agreed. Indeed, he was all for letting the Germans advance even further before cutting them off and destroying them. Eisenhower wasn't prepared to go that far, but he did instruct

Patton to swing north and attack the southern flank of the bulge. It was an order that Patton had anticipated; his troops were quickly on the move and on 26 December, they relieved the hard-pressed defenders of Bastogne.

The German attack was rapidly running out of steam, and on 23 December, the weather turned against them as well. That day, the thick cloud and heavy fog that had shrouded the Ardennes since the start of the offensive finally lifted. Allied aircraft, which had been

1,255,000

American artillery rounds were fired in the battle by 4,155 guns

Eighty-four American soldiers were massacred following their surrender



MASSACRE AT MALMEDY

On 17 December 1944, a Waffen-SS battle group under the command of the charismatic and ruthless Obersturmführer Joachim Peiper overran an American convoy near the town of Malmedy. The Germans marched approximately 100 prisoners into a field and, in just one of a series of atrocities associated with the battle group, shot and killed 84 of them. Peiper and 72 others were later tried and convicted by an American tribunal and 43, including Peiper, were sentenced to death by hanging. The death sentences were later commuted, and none of the convicted served a full prison sentence. Peiper was paroled after ten years and later went to live in France. In July 1976, his home was attacked by unknown assailants, and Peiper's charred body was later discovered in the burnt-out remains of his house.

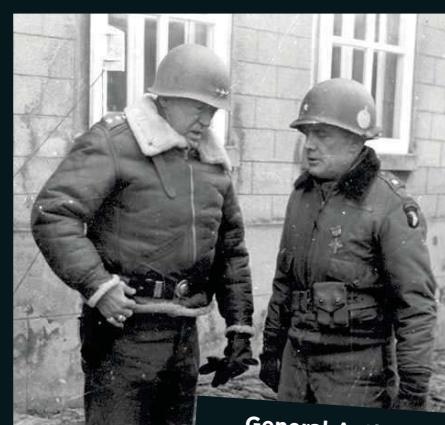
grounded for a week, were finally able to take to the air and the German ground forces now found themselves under attack from the hundreds of fighters and bombers that swarmed above them. And the Germans had another problem: they were running out of fuel for their gas-guzzling tanks. Even though they'd set aside nearly five million gallons for the battle, their plans still revolved around

the need to seize American fuel depots during the advance. The Germans managed to capture some but it was never enough, and the Allies evacuated or burned millions of gallons to prevent it falling into enemy hands. Eventually, one German tank after another ground to a halt as their fuel tanks ran dry.

The German counter-attack crumbled and by mid-January 1945, the Allies had successfully pushed the Germans back to their original positions. Both sides had lost about 80,000 men killed, wounded and taken prisoner in the fighting, together with about 800 tanks, but whereas the Americans had the resources to replace such losses, the Germans did not. On 29 January, the Americans launched a new offensive of their own into Germany, which eventually surrendered on 7 May. ©

NUTS

On 22 December, a group of four German soldiers, two officers in jackboots and long overcoats and two enlisted men, approached Bastogne under a flag of truce. One of them was carrying a long, carefully typed letter from their commander, General Heinrich Freiherr von Lüttwitz, calling on the American defenders of the town to surrender and threatening their annihilation if they failed to do so. Eventually, the letter was brought before the American commander in Bastogne, Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe, who took one look at it and tossed it to the ground muttering "Aw, Nuts". When it was later pointed out to him that the Germans were still waiting for a reply, McAuliffe mused, "Well, I don't know what to tell them." At this point, Harry Kinnard, the division's Operations Officer, said, "What you said initially would be hard to beat." All members of the staff enthusiastically agreed, so McAuliffe wrote it down on a message pad and said, "Have it typed up." The reply, which read "December 22, 1944. To the German Commander, NUTS! The American Commander", was duly delivered to the waiting Germans. Not being familiar with American slang, they asked for an explanation. It was given to them in no uncertain terms and they were sent on their way.



General Anthony McAuliffe (right) talks to General Patton in Bastogne

GET HOOKED

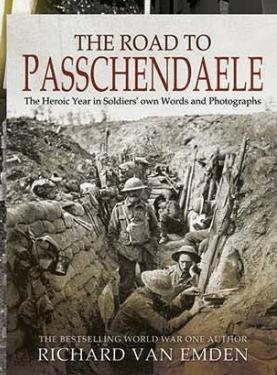
Find out more about the battle and those involved

READ

Snow and Steel: The Battle of the Bulge 1944-45 by Peter Caddick-Adams (Arrow, 2015) provides a reassessment of Hitler's last throw of the dice.

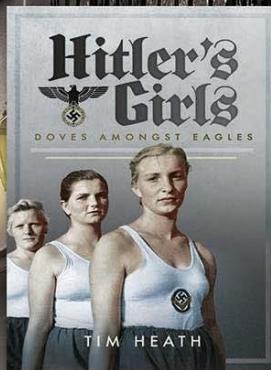
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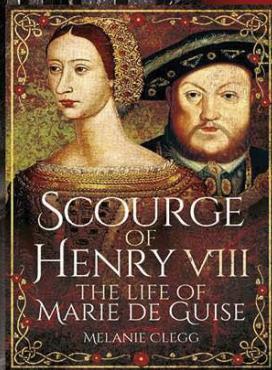
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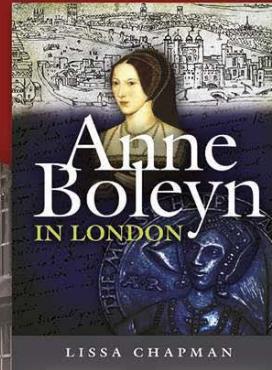
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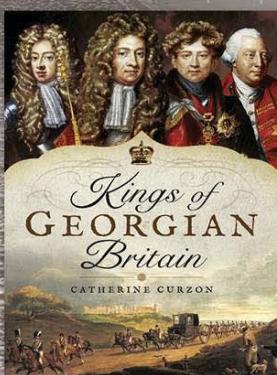
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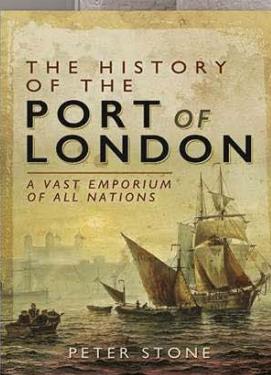
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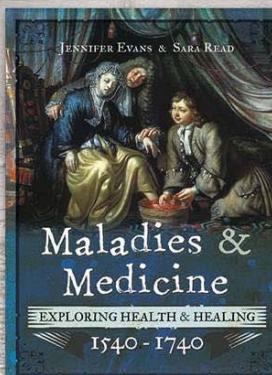
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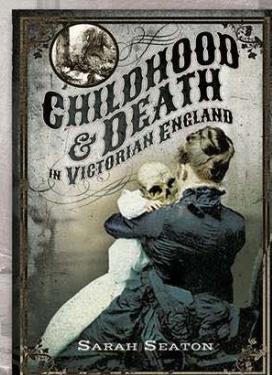
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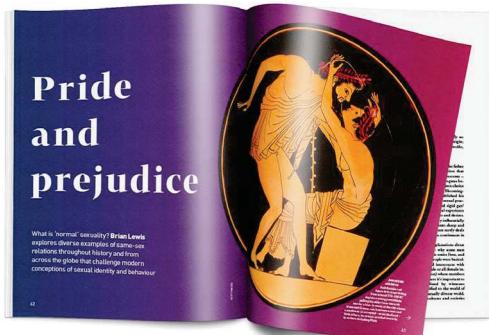


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Elizabeth is perhaps best remembered for being the mother of the ill-fated Princes in the Tower



Elizabeth Woodville: AN UNLIKELY QUEEN

The marriage of a Lancastrian widow to a Yorkist king left the country reeling, and was one that ended – perhaps inevitably – in tragedy. **Lottie Goldfinch** explains



THE HISTORY MAKERS ELIZABETH WOODVILLE



Both Woodville's family and her first husband were supporters of the House of Lancaster – the King's rivals



Elizabeth was widowed young, around the age of just 24. She married King Edward IV three years later

In early 1464, so legend has it, a young woman stood patiently beneath the branches of an oak tree near the royal hunting ground of Whittlewood Forest, Northamptonshire. A widow with two young sons to provide for, she was willing to wait as long as it took to win back the inheritance that was being denied them.

The lady in question was Elizabeth Woodville, the beautiful widow of Sir John Grey and daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, a local landowner. The man she was waiting for was the handsome 22-year-old King, Edward IV. Sure enough, Edward and his party eventually approached Elizabeth, whereupon she pleaded with him to return lands seized after her husband's death in battle three years earlier.

The young King is said to have been instantly smitten with Elizabeth, who is described by contemporaries as "the most beautiful woman in the Island of Britain" with "heavy-lidded eyes like those of a dragon". Whether in lust (Elizabeth allegedly refused to become Edward's mistress) or love, the pair were secretly married at some point before September 1464. The following year, on 26 May 1465, Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster Abbey in a lavish coronation, cementing her rise from commoner to Queen Consort.

EARLY LIFE

Elizabeth's meteoric rise to queenship was by no means a foregone conclusion. Born in c1437, she was the product of another socially unequal marriage. Her mother, wealthy widow Jacquetta of Luxembourg, had married Elizabeth's father in secret without the permission of the King.

The marriage caused a scandal at court but, aided by Jacquetta's wealth and connections, the Woodvilles prospered and Elizabeth's birth was followed by 13 siblings.

Elizabeth herself made a good match in c1452, when she married Sir John Grey of Groby. The union resulted in two sons, Thomas and Richard, born in 1455 and 1457 respectively. Elizabeth and Sir John's marriage took place at a time when the two great houses of England – Lancaster and York – were at war. Blood had already been shed in what would later become known as the Wars of the Roses, and in 1461, Sir John, too, was killed while fighting for the Lancastrian cause.

Given her Lancastrian roots, it is even more incredible, then, that Edward IV, the Yorkist ruler who had seized the throne, would consider taking Elizabeth as his wife and queen.

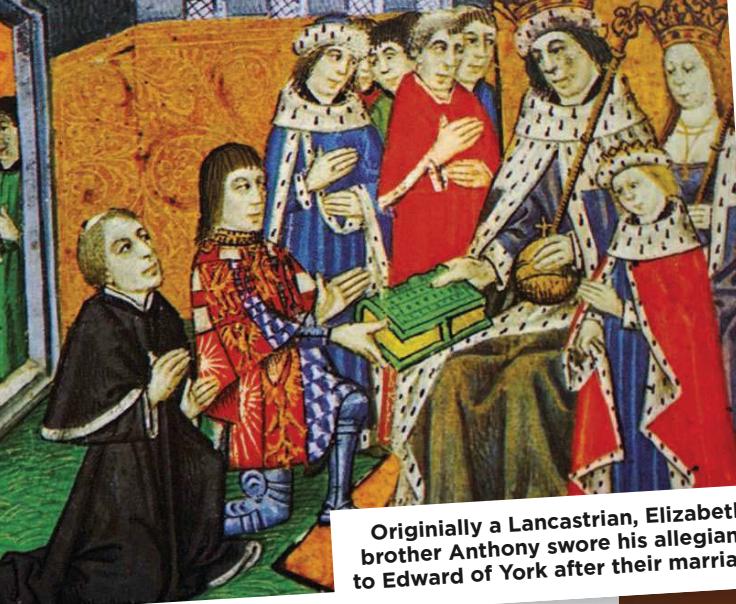
revealed, Warwick was furious, as was the Privy Council, which declared "he [King Edward] must know that she was no wife for a prince such as himself".

Elizabeth was entering the lion's den when she arrived at court as Edward's wife, and within days, whispers of seduction and even witchcraft to explain her rise to power were circulating. But for all her perceived faults as a worthy queen, Elizabeth quickly proved herself a fertile wife, producing three children within four years of marriage – Elizabeth (1466), Mary (1467) and Cecily (1469). Although daughters, their births, and that of her existing sons, proved Elizabeth could at least bear healthy children. Edward was delighted with his growing family, and presented his wife with a jewelled ornament after their daughter Elizabeth's birth.

"The Woodvilles were fast becoming the most powerful family in the country"

Astonishment and anger at Edward's choice echoed across the country. To make matters worse, Richard Neville, the powerful Earl of Warwick, was midway through negotiating an alliance with France, which was to be sealed with Edward's marriage to a French princess. When the King's 'common' marriage was

But Queen Elizabeth had a dangerous enemy in the shape of Warwick, who felt publicly humiliated by the whole affair. Adding insult to injury, large numbers of the Woodville family had accompanied her to court, and were making advantageous marriages into some of the most notable families in England. The



Originally a Lancastrian, Elizabeth's brother Anthony swore his allegiance to Edward of York after their marriage

Woodvilles were fast becoming the most powerful family in the country, and Warwick could not stand it.

WARRICK'S REVENGE

Furious with Edward's behaviour, Warwick travelled to France to carry out negotiations for the marriage of the King's sister, but by autumn 1467, rumours were circulating that he had in fact switched allegiances and was plotting to oust Edward from the throne. Sensing an ally in Edward's younger brother George, Duke of Clarence, Warwick persuaded the young Duke to abandon his brother and sail to France where, he promised, he would help him take the throne of England.

Playing on widespread discontent in England, Warwick led a rebellion in the north. Edward set out to face down the rebels, but his army was intercepted en route and defeated in the Battle of Edgecote Moor in July 1469. Elizabeth's father and brother John were taken prisoner and beheaded, and the King himself was taken "into protective custody" by George. Edward was held against his will for several months while Warwick sought to rule in his name.

Elizabeth, who had not long given birth to the couple's third daughter, Cecily, had travelled to Norwich to fulfil royal obligations in her husband's absence. It was here she learned of the deaths of her brother and father, as well as the news that her husband had been taken prisoner. Elizabeth's exact thoughts are unknown, but it isn't hard to imagine the terror and anger she must have felt at the news. Without Edward's protection, she and her children were in a vulnerable position, and she surely must have feared that Edward could be forced to reject her in return for keeping the throne. To make matters worse, her own mother had been accused of witchcraft and was being held at Warwick Castle. Elizabeth was alone.

Warwick was eventually forced to release Edward after it became clear that few would accept royal orders unless from the King himself. But rather than punish his brother and former ally, Edward instead sought to placate Warwick, betrothing his eldest daughter to the Earl's nephew. Elizabeth, too, returned to London, where she would have been forced

IN CONTEXT WARS OF THE ROSES



Fought between 1455 and 1485, the Wars of the Roses were a series of battles between the two major houses of medieval England: Lancaster and York. Both families claimed the right to rule England through the sons of a mutual ancestor, King Edward III, who ruled

from 1327 to 1377.

Although the Lancastrians had occupied the throne since 1399, the reign of Henry VI had caused instability in the country. Henry's father, Henry V, had died when his son was just a baby, and for 15 years England had been under minority rule, managed by the King's council. This in turn had created many factions, all desperate for power and boasting private armies of their own.

Richard, Duke of York, became leader of one such faction between 1450-60 and

when, in 1453, Henry VI suffered what would become one of many bouts of insanity, York was installed as protector of the realm. Henry recovered in 1455 and, with the help of his wife, Margaret of Anjou, set about restoring his authority – a move that would see York take up arms against him.

York and Lancaster clashed for the first time at the Battle of St Albans in May 1455, with York claiming victory. A truce prevailed for four years, until Henry began making moves to oust York once and for all. Goaded into action, York drew arms, winning a battle at Blore Heath in September 1459, but losing to the King the following month at Ludford Bridge. York fled to Ireland and the Lancastrians carried out a number of executions.

From that moment, the battle lines had been drawn and the war became ever bloodier, with each side fighting for its claim to the throne.



The Wars of the Roses raged for over 30 years

to publicly receive the Neville family at court, despite their actions towards her family.

But Warwick was far from finished, and in 1470, realising that he would never again influence the King's choice of ministers or policies again, raised another rebellion, this time in Lincolnshire. When their role in the uprising was discovered, George and Warwick refused to accept the King's pardon and fled to France, where they were reconciled with the former Lancastrian queen Margaret of Anjou and planned to restore Henry VI to the throne.

The threat of a French invasion was serious, and in summer 1470, Elizabeth – pregnant with the future King – gathered her family and

moved to the Tower of London for protection. Edward, meanwhile, attempted to raise an army to see off the French threat, but the might of the invading army meant he was forced to flee to the Netherlands. With Edward in flight, a triumphant Warwick entered London, and restored Henry VI to the throne in what became known as the Readepoint.

On hearing of Warwick's arrival in the capital, Elizabeth, eight months pregnant and alone again, decided to leave the Tower with her mother and family, and claim sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. There, on 2 November, a month after her arrival, Elizabeth gave birth to a much-longed-for son and heir, Prince Edward.



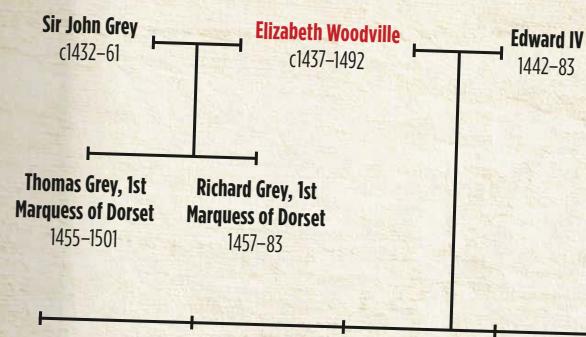
THE HISTORY MAKERS ELIZABETH WOODVILLE



MAIN: Edward V, the eldest son of Elizabeth and Edward, and his younger brother Richard, are taken from their mother
RIGHT: Elizabeth's eldest daughter's marriage to Henry Tudor united the houses of York and Lancaster, finally bringing the Wars of the Roses to an end



FAMILY TREE



SISTERHOOD
Five of Elizabeth
and Edward's
daughters
survived to
adulthood;
pictured here
with their mother
(*far left*) are
Elizabeth, Cecily
and Anne
(*second left*
to right)

Elizabeth of York 1466–1503	Mary of York 1467–82	Cecily of York, Viscountess Welles 1469–1507	Edward V 1470–c1483	Margaret of York Apr–Dec 1472	Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York 1473–c1483	Anne of York 1475–1511	George Plantagenet, 1st Duke of Bedford 1477–79	Catherine of York 1479–1527	BrIDGET OF YORK 1480–1517
Despite having a strong claim to the throne in her own right, Elizabeth became Queen Consort to Henry VII in 1486, following his defeat of Richard III at Bosworth Field the previous year. She is known as the mother of the Tudor dynasty.	Little is known of Mary, who died a year before her father, aged 14. She is buried at Windsor Castle.	Cecily's first marriage was to Richard III—supporter Ralph Scrope of Upsall, but the marriage was eventually annulled by Henry VII. Her second marriage was to John Welles, 1st Viscount Welles, in 1487, with whom she had two daughters.	Known later as one of the Princes in the Tower, 12-year-old Edward became King on the death of his father, but he was never crowned. His short reign of 86 days was dominated by his uncle Richard III, and he disappeared from the Tower of London in mysterious circumstances shortly after.	Named after Edward IV's sister Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, young Margaret was born in Winchester Castle but died aged eight months. She is buried in Westminster Abbey.	Edward and Elizabeth's second son, eight-year-old Richard, joined his brother in the Tower in 1483, supposedly to prepare for the coronation. He was never seen again.	Aged nine, Anne was betrothed to Thomas Howard and finally married him in 1495. Their one known son, Thomas, died aged about 12.	Born at Windsor Castle, George was made Duke of Bedford as a baby. His death at age two was probably due to an outbreak of the plague.	Several men were proposed as husbands for Catherine, including John, Prince of Asturias, eldest son of Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. She was eventually married to William Courtenay in 1495, with whom she had three children.	Born just three years before her father's death, Bridget may have been intended for a religious life from birth. She was entrusted to Dartford Priory in Kent at some point between 1486 and 1492, and later became a nun.

Henry VI's second reign did not last long, and in April 1471, Edward returned to England where, with Burgundian support, he defeated the Lancastrians. On the night of Edward's re-entry to London, Henry VI mysteriously died, probably on the King's orders.

THE DEATH OF THE KING

With the Lancastrian line virtually extinguished and Warwick dead in battle, the royal family returned to court, where Elizabeth bore the king another six children, securing the York dynasty and fulfilling her role as Queen. But tragedy was just around the corner.



As England entered 1483 a country at peace, Elizabeth and Edward may well have been reflecting on their 19-year marriage and anticipating many more to come. Edward was approaching his 41st birthday, but despite middle age (by contemporary standards), was fit and healthy. The couple were still very much in love; the future seemed bright. It was a tremendous shock to all, then, when Edward was taken ill and died in April that year, possibly from pneumonia.

Before his death, Edward had noted in his will that he wished his youngest brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to act as Lord Protector of England until 12-year-old Prince Edward was old enough to rule. But despite his previous loyalty to Edward, Richard was no fan of the Woodvilles and, keen to prevent Elizabeth and her family from gaining influence over the young King-to-be, Richard moved quickly, arresting Elizabeth's brother Anthony on charges of treason towards the Lord Protector. Richard himself then escorted the young Prince Edward to the Tower of London in anticipation of his coronation.

When news of Anthony's imminent execution reached her, Elizabeth and her children sought sanctuary in Westminster Abbey once more. There, although suspicious of her brother-in-law's motives, Elizabeth had no choice but to allow her second son, Richard, to join his brother in the Tower to attend the coronation.

Whether Elizabeth truly believed Richard would take care of his nephews – the sons of his beloved brother, Edward – or whether she felt she had no choice, is unknown. But she never saw either son again. Shortly after the two

princes entered the Tower, Richard declared Elizabeth's marriage to Edward to be illegal, stating that the King had already been married at the time of their wedding. Young Edward was declared illegitimate and the throne was instead offered to the Lord Protector who, on 26 June 1483, was crowned King Richard III. The two Princes in the Tower were never seen alive again, with some believing them to have been murdered on the orders of their uncle.

On 1 March 1484, Elizabeth came out of sanctuary after a public promise by Richard III that neither she nor her daughters would be harmed or imprisoned. The family returned to court, where they remained until Richard's defeat by Henry Tudor in 1485.

Elizabeth, having married for love, had seen her family torn apart by the power struggles of two ruling houses. Her father and brothers had been killed, and her sons were gone, but through it all she remained a strong wife and mother, committed to her role as Queen and to restoring the legitimacy of her family.

Her daughter, Elizabeth of York became mother of the House of Tudor, a royal dynasty that gave five sovereigns to England and ruled for more than a century. Two years after seeing her daughter crowned Queen, Elizabeth retired to Bermondsey Abbey, where she remained until her death on 8 June 1492. ◉



Were Elizabeth's sons murdered in the Tower of London?
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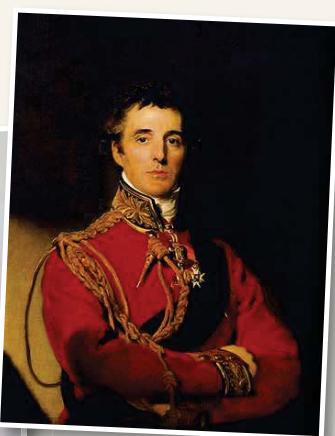
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the **ATOMIC** age

As Earth teetered on the brink of nuclear war, Americans still managed to see the fun side of the A-Bomb

IN CONTEXT

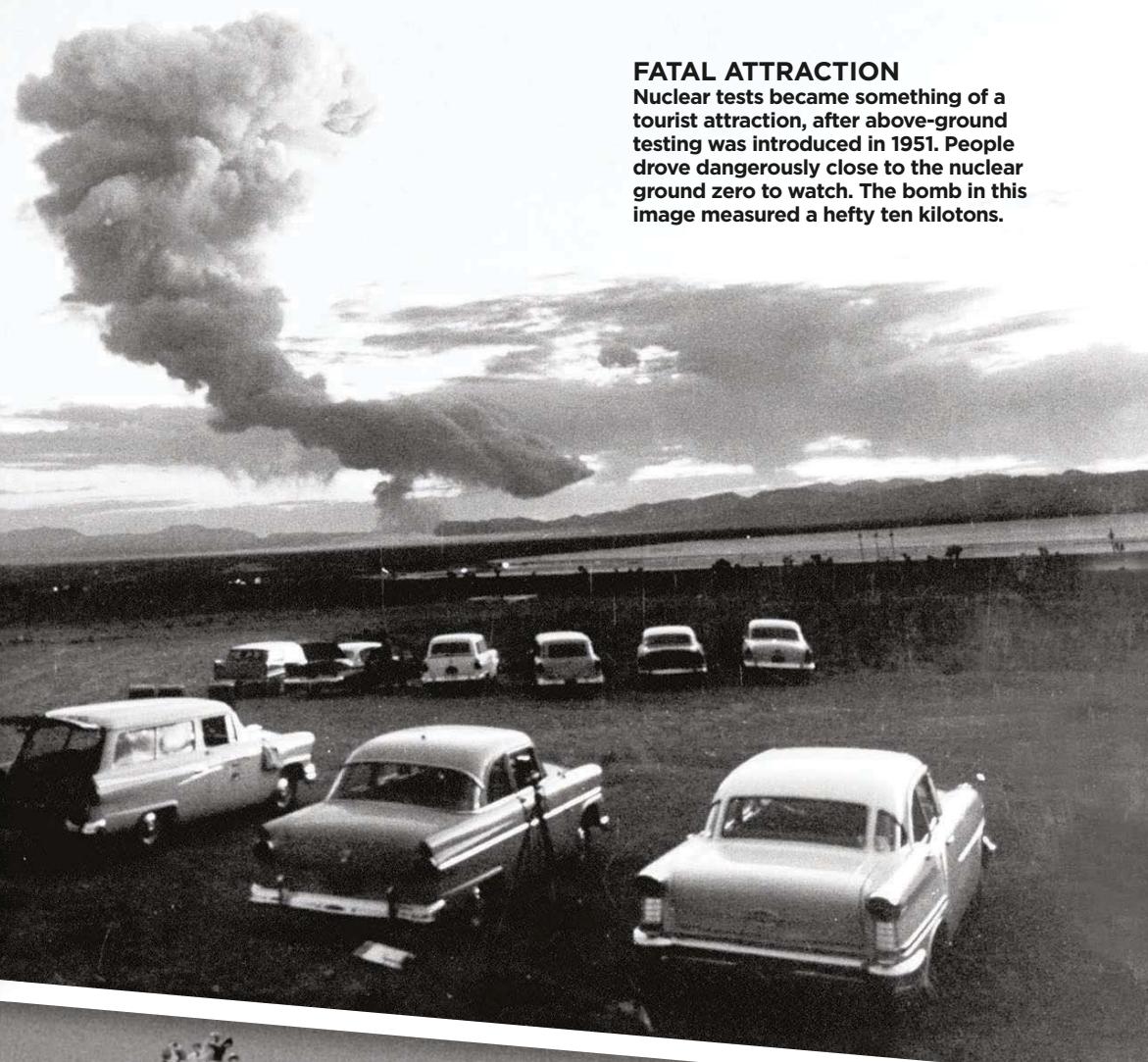
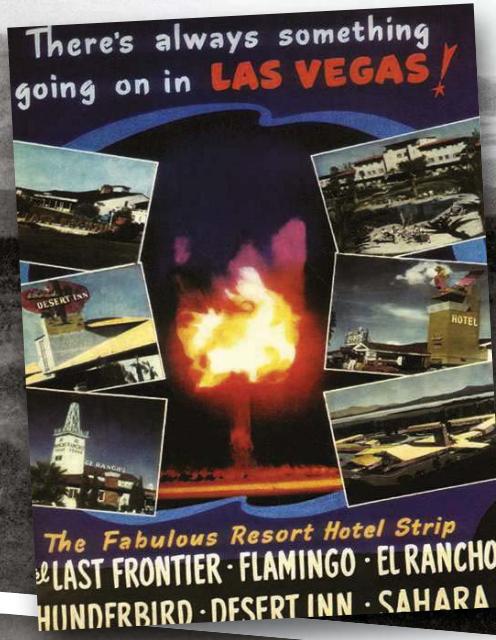
The world's obsession with atomic energy began with the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when the public saw the unprecedented destruction unleashed by a nuclear weapon. The USA found itself in a race with the USSR to build the most devastating bomb to date, and tests were carried out in the Nevada desert. When the results were shown on TV, a mix of paranoia and awe gripped the nation.



IN PICTURES THE ATOMIC AGE

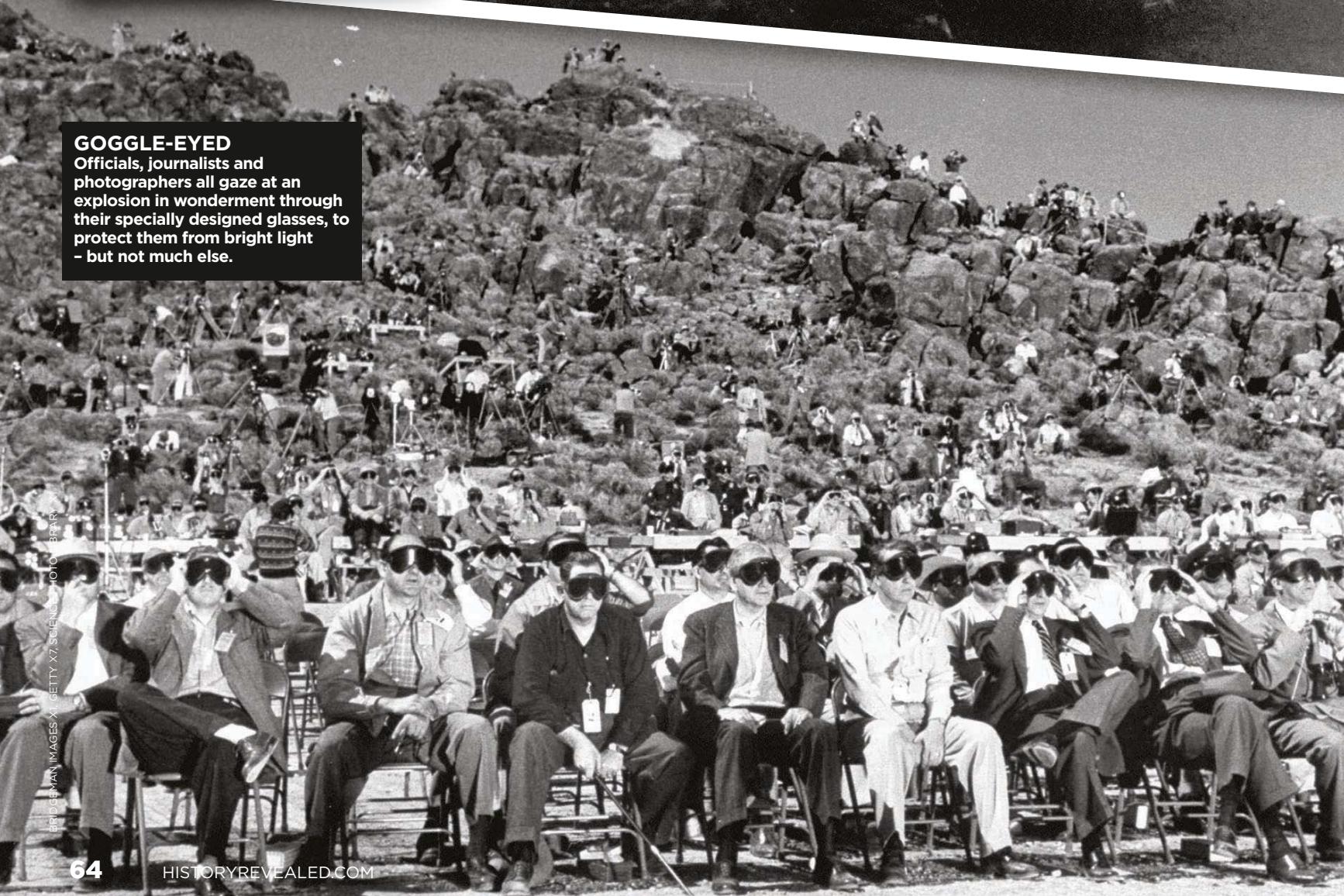
VIVA LAS VEGAS

The resort city of Las Vegas was located just 65 miles away from a major testing site, and quickly capitalised on its prime location.



GOOGLE-EYED

Officials, journalists and photographers all gaze at an explosion in wonderment through their specially designed glasses, to protect them from bright light – but not much else.



FATAL ATTRACTION

Nuclear tests became something of a tourist attraction, after above-ground testing was introduced in 1951. People drove dangerously close to the nuclear ground zero to watch. The bomb in this image measured a hefty ten kilotons.

INSIDE THE BLAST

Each test site was carefully set up to resemble an average American suburb. One was aptly nicknamed 'Survival Town'. Here's how that panned out...



A NIGHT TO REMEMBER

A family of plastic mannequins sits down to dinner, complete with table settings to make the test extra realistic. However, a terrifying atom bomb is about to make landfall just 1.75 miles away.



TOTAL WIPEOUT

In the test above, two suburban, wood-framed houses were constructed. Within seconds of detonation, immense heat and a massive shockwave tears through both houses in the blast zone.



DAMAGE CONTROL

Scientists and journalists move in on the stricken town to inspect the impact of the bomb. This test was nationally televised, and even managed to record the sound an A-bomb makes when it explodes.

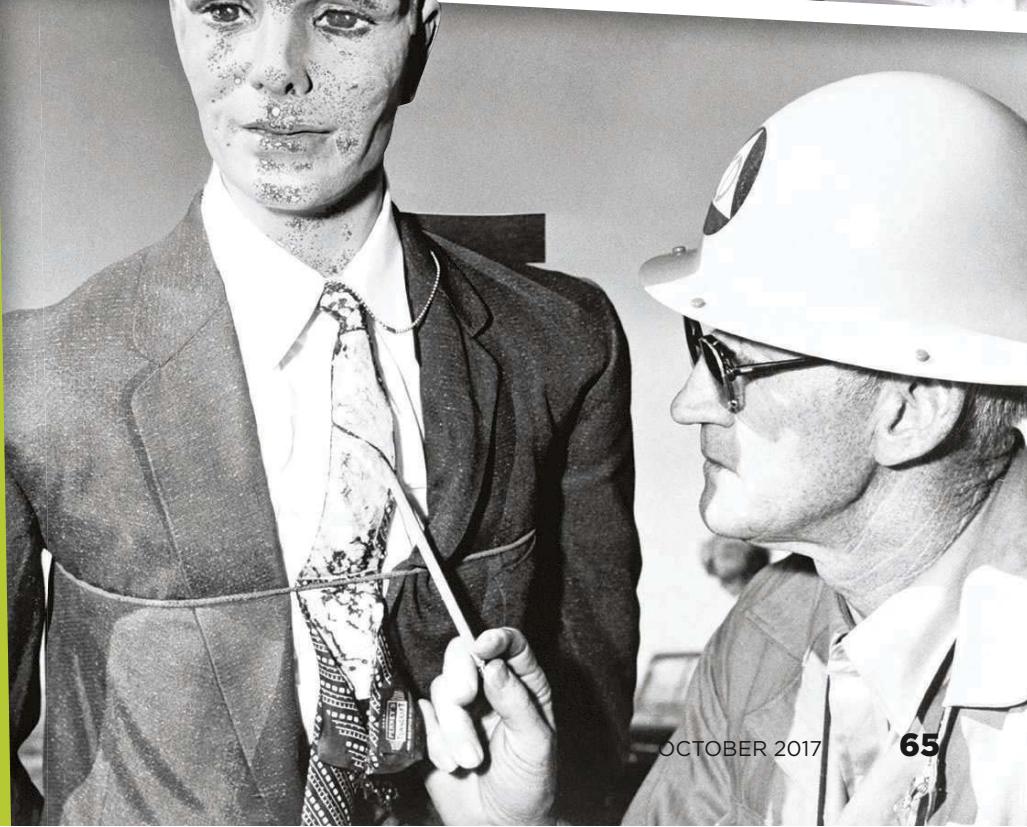


ATOMIC BOMBS FOR DUMMIES

TOP: Mannequins display injuries from a blast in 1955, over a mile away from the centre. Models wearing white were often less seriously injured, as it reflected some heat.

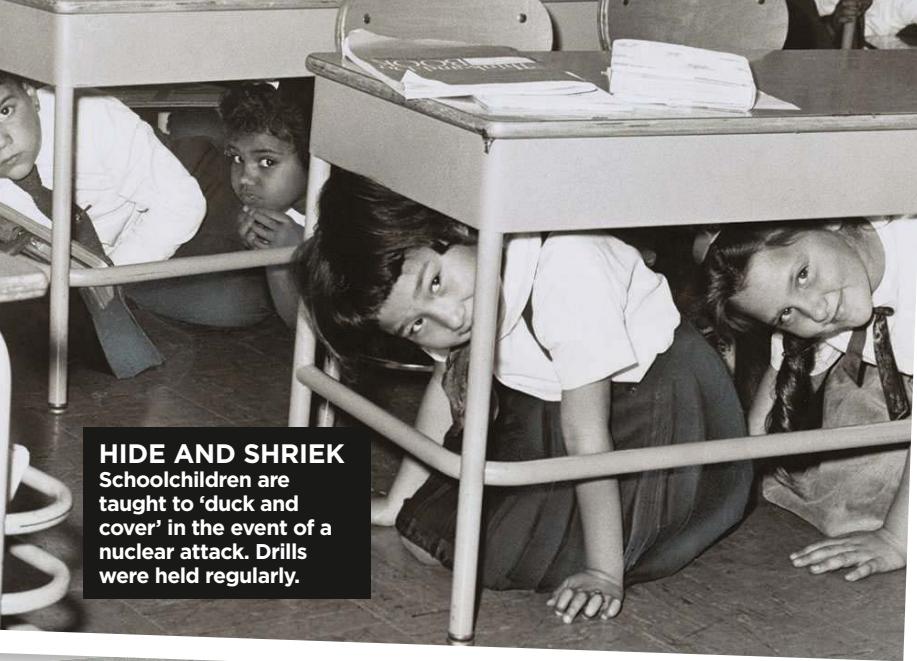
MIDDLE: Atomic blasts caused severe injuries, such as fatal burns and impact-related injuries. This 'casualty' is gently carried away from the scene.

BOTTOM: Some injuries were more severe than others. This mannequin may have 'survived' the blast, albeit with bad facial blistering.





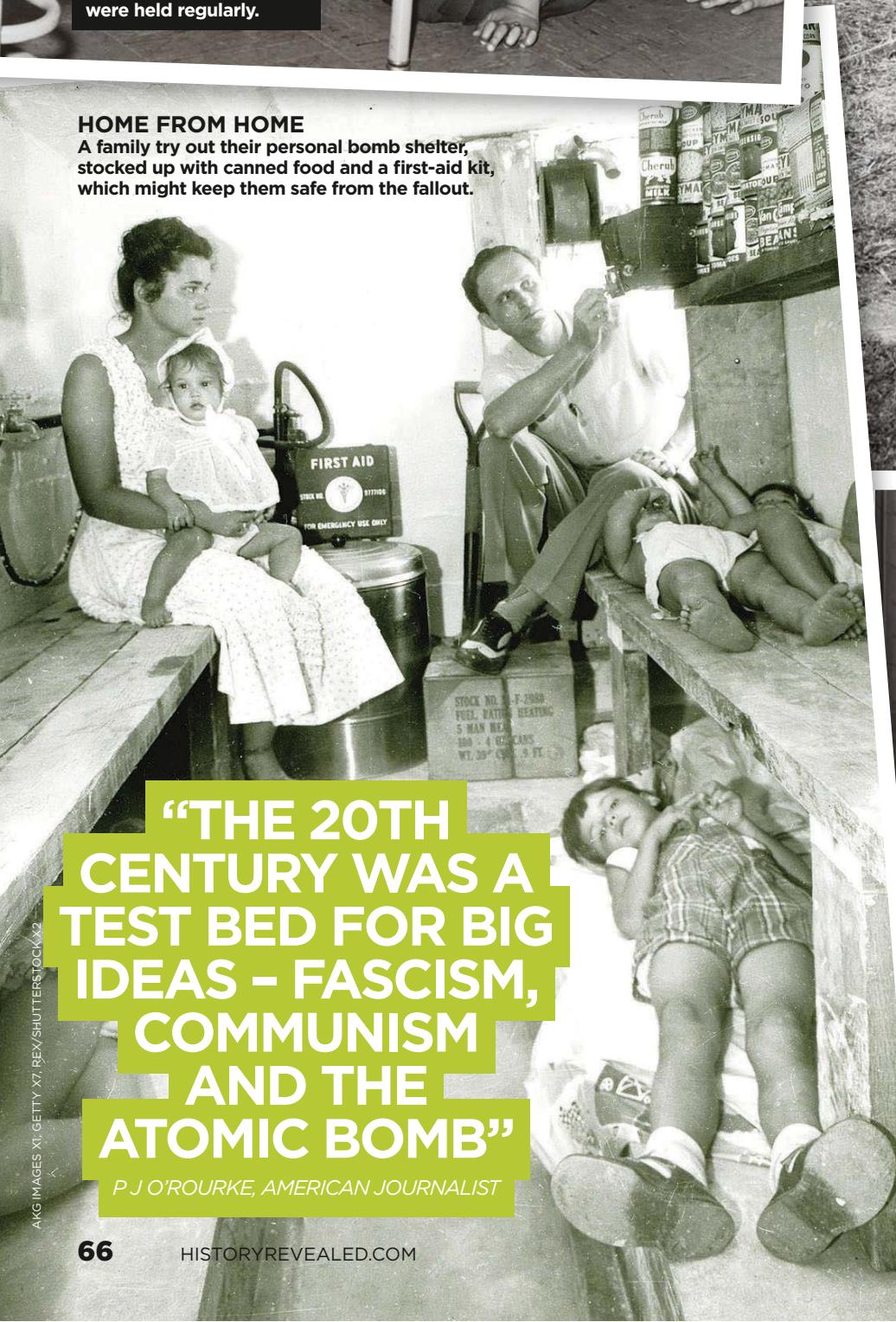
IN PICTURES THE ATOMIC AGE



HIDE AND SHRIEK
Schoolchildren are taught to 'duck and cover' in the event of a nuclear attack. Drills were held regularly.

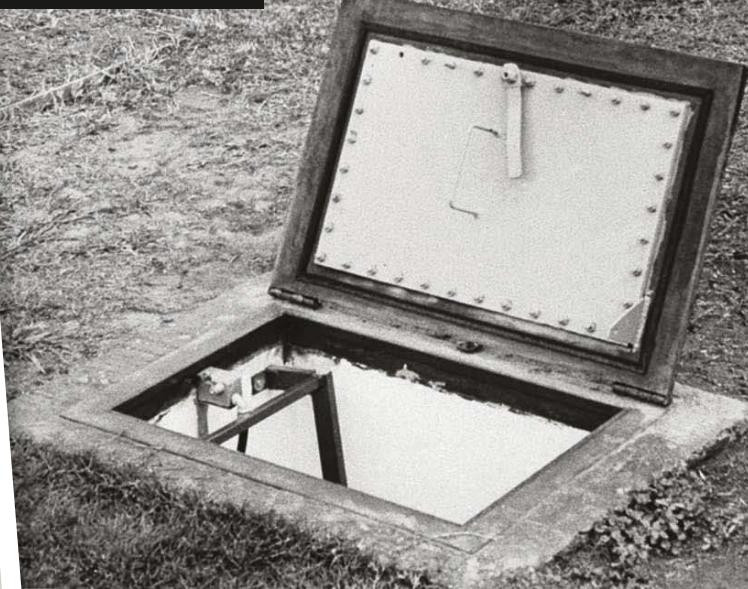


PRODUCT TEST
The Californian family of a nuclear bunker salesman does a practice run to their shelter, to see how quickly customers could reach safety.



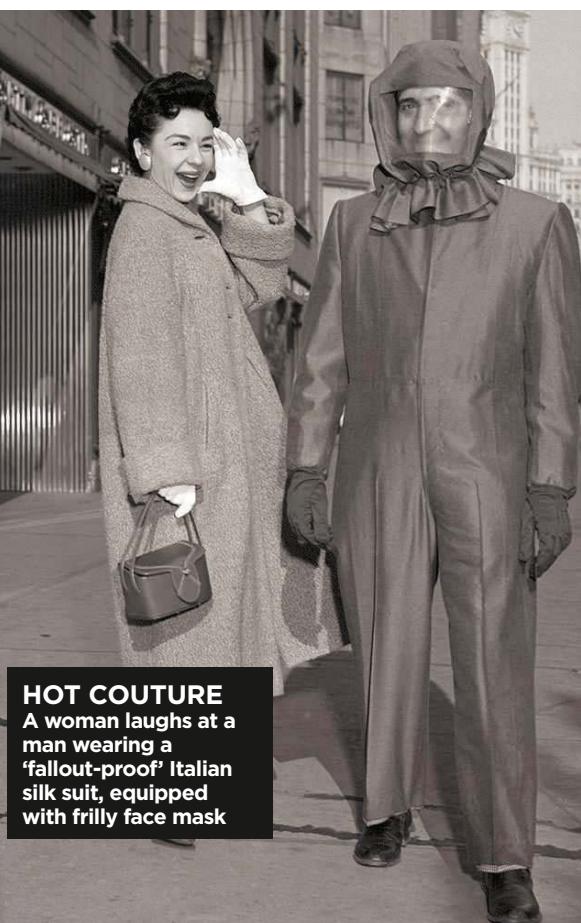
HOME FROM HOME

A family try out their personal bomb shelter, stocked up with canned food and a first-aid kit, which might keep them safe from the fallout.



"THE 20TH CENTURY WAS A TEST BED FOR BIG IDEAS – FASCISM, COMMUNISM – AND THE ATOMIC BOMB"

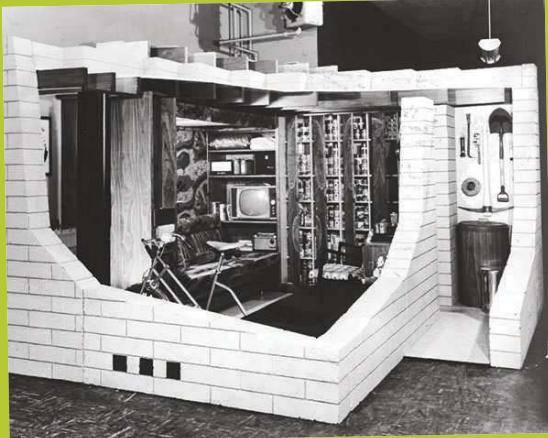
PJ O'Rourke, American Journalist



HOT COUTURE
A woman laughs at a man wearing a 'fallout-proof' Italian silk suit, equipped with frilly face mask

JUST IN CASE

The fear of nuclear war was so deeply ingrained in society that some splashed out on their own shelters, complete with mod cons



GOING UNDERGROUND

This demonstration shelter, built in the 1950s, came with its own television, library and even exercise bicycle to keep its occupants entertained.



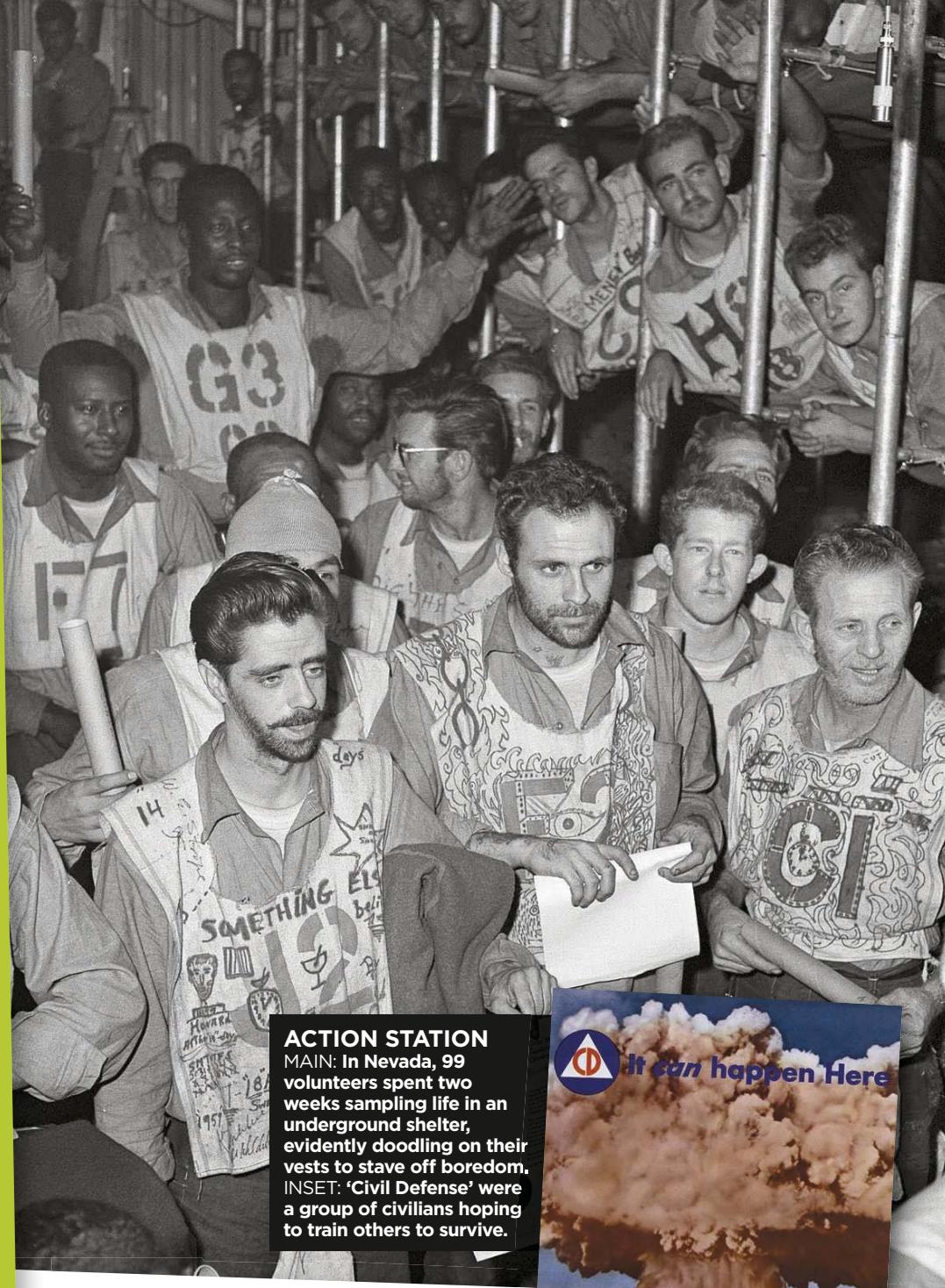
KEEPING UP APPEARANCES

Of course, buying a bunker meant housewives had to stock up on emergency supplies, alongside their usual shops. Drinking water, first-aid kits and torches were staples of bunker life.



PRACTICAL LANDSCAPING

Preferring to do it themselves, the Heldt family digs up their lawn to make room for a concrete fallout shelter, which was partially subsidised by the United States government.



ACTION STATION

MAIN: In Nevada, 99 volunteers spent two weeks sampling life in an underground shelter, evidently doodling on their vests to stave off boredom. INSET: 'Civil Defense' were a group of civilians hoping to train others to survive.



ON THE DEFENSIVE

Female Civil Defense volunteers recreate a pose they used to survive in a trench located close to a nuclear test site.





IN PICTURES THE ATOMIC AGE



ON CLOUD NINE

ABOVE: This diner in Paducah, Kentucky took advantage of the nuclear power plant being built in the town, and underwent an atomic makeover.

RIGHT: 'Miss Atomic Bomb' pageants, such as this one in 1957, were an extremely popular Vegas event. Contestants such as Lee Merlin (right) paraded up and down the Las Vegas strip dressed as mushroom clouds, vying for the coveted title.



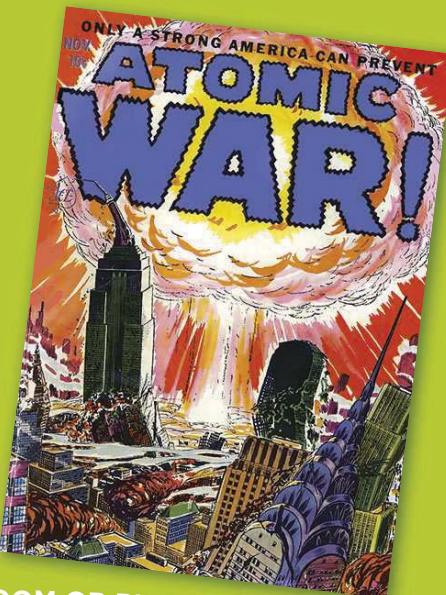
ALAMY X2, THE ADVERTISING ARCHIVES X1, GETTY X2

"THE BEST THING TO HAPPEN TO LAS VEGAS WAS THE ATOMIC BOMB"

BENNY BINION, CASINO OWNER

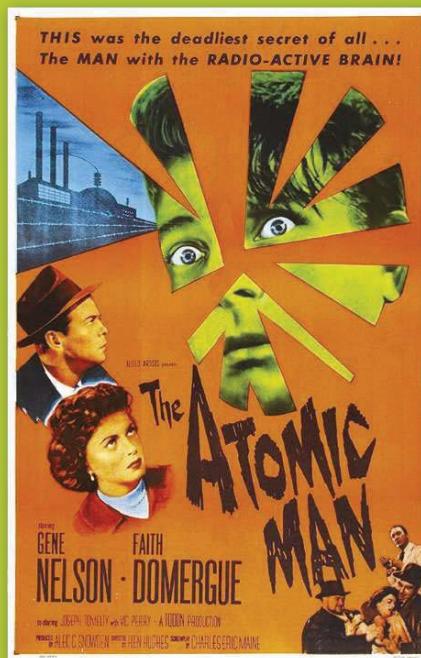
ATOMIC BOOM

The craze for all things nuclear gave companies some unique inspiration for their latest products



BOOM OR BUST?

This comic was set in an America ravaged by a nuclear World War III, precipitated by Soviet communists. However, it only lasted four issues before it went bust.



BOX-OFFICE BOMB

B-movies thrived on concerns about the effects of atomic radiation. In this 1955 film, a radioactive man goes on a quest to destroy his evil clone.

EARLY LEARNING

Toymakers got in on the act. This lab kit contained real radioactive materials, but was apparently harmless and stressed the peaceful uses of atomic energy.



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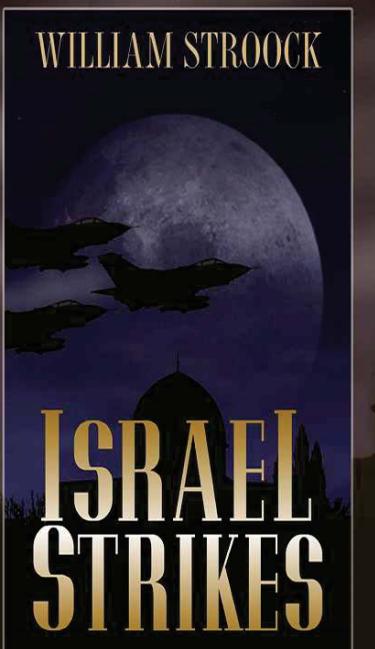
Over Iran, Israeli jets attack...

In Lebanon, Hezbollah begins the rocket war...

In Syria, the new government pledges to support Hezbollah...

In Israel, 10 IDF brigades roll across the border...

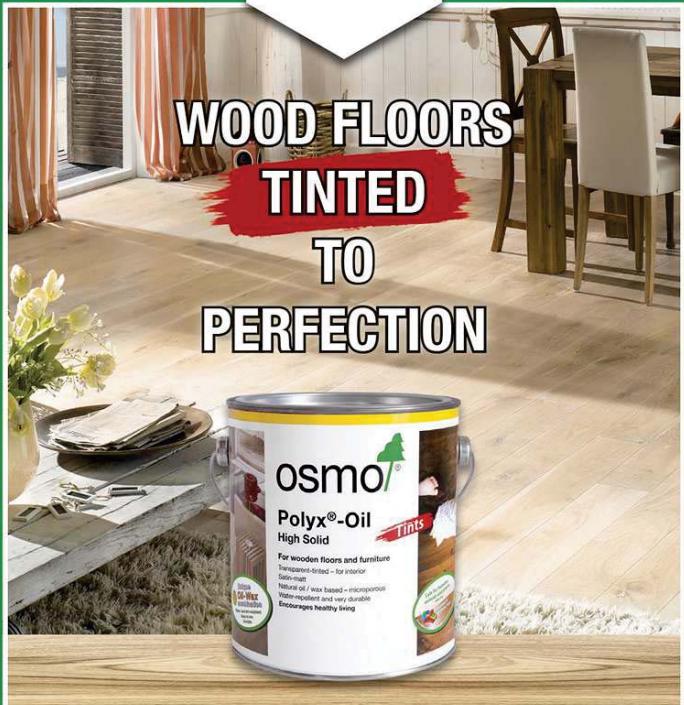
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WANTED FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE CHURCH



MARTIN LUTHER

It took just one monk to bring down the most powerful institution in Medieval Europe. **Alicea Francis** tells the story of the man who dared defy the Catholic Church 500 years ago this month





ROME'S MOST WANTED MARTIN LUTHER

As darkness descended on the Thuringian Forest, only the cracking of fallen branches under hoof disturbed the silence. Had you been there that night, you might have crossed paths with a man on horseback, following the winding path through the trees. From his dark robes and shaved scalp, you may well have guessed that this was a holy man; what you may not have guessed was that he was an outlaw: the most wanted man in all the Holy Roman Empire.

What came next happened so quickly that, had you briefly looked away, you would have missed it completely; a rustling of leaves was the only warning. Three hooded horsemen emerged from the shadows of the forest, swords raised and glinting in the moonlight, blocking the solitary rider's path. The monk lowered his head to the ground, clutched the cross that hung from his neck, and prayed for salvation.

ROOT OF EVIL

Medieval Germany was a place of desolation and disease. Since the mid-14th century, the Black Death had ravaged much of Europe, and in just 100 years the German population almost halved. For many, there was only one comfort: the promise of heaven. The Catholic Church had grown more powerful than any monarch – and also richer. Not only did it own around a third of the land in Europe, it had also begun to sell 'indulgences', which promised to reduce the amount of time the recipient would spend in purgatory (that half-way house between heaven and hell). These indulgences could redeem for anything, and could cost half the annual wage of the average citizen. Those who had dared to question the morality of this practice had been smeared heretics, the punishment for which was a slow and painful death.

When a baby boy was born in Eisleben, Saxony on 10 November 1483, no one could ever have predicted that he would one day defy the odds and revolutionise Christianity forever.



Did Luther really nail his Ninety-Five Theses to the door of All Saints' Church? We may never know

There were, however, high expectations for the child who would be baptised Martin Luther. His father, Hans, was the son of a farmer, and had broken free from the chains of serfdom to become a successful copper smelter. For his own son, he had even higher ambitions, and he sent Martin to the best Catholic schools in Saxony. But what Hans abounded in ambition, he lacked in affection. Both he and his wife Margarethe were strict disciplinarians, and as an adult Martin recalled how his mother, "for the sake of stealing a nut... beat me until the blood flowed". It was a pious, but unhappy, upbringing.

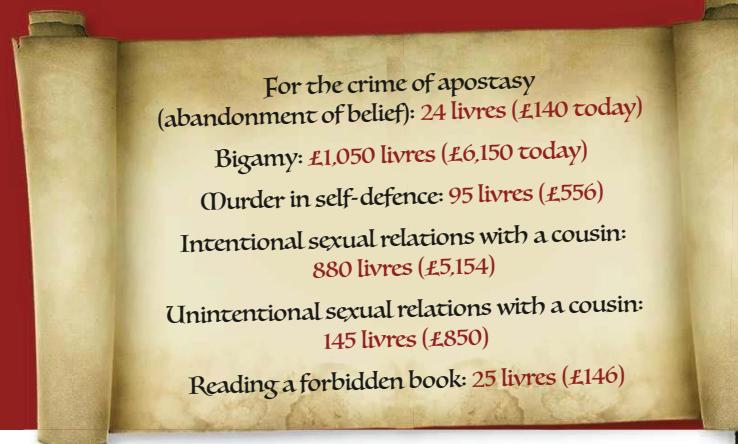
In 1501, Hans enrolled Martin at the University of Erfurt; his son, he had decided, was to become a lawyer. Martin, however, did not share his father's ambitions. He described his school days as "hell and purgatory"; Erfurt, meanwhile, was a "whorehouse and a beer house". In July 1505, inevitably, some might argue, he dropped out of university. His father was furious, but Martin insisted that he had a good explanation. While

travelling back to Erfurt after a trip home, he had found himself in the midst of a thunderstorm. A lightning bolt struck the ground near to him and, fearing for his life, Martin cried out "Help me, Saint Anne, I shall become a monk". He survived the journey and two weeks later, he joined the local monastery.

But the inner peace he sought was not to be found there, either. The silence and solitude gave him too much time to think, and he descended into religious turmoil, believing that he would never be able to redeem for his sins and achieve salvation. It was as though Martin had exchanged one unforgiving father for another, even more impossible to please. Martin spent hour after hour in confession to his superior, Johann von Staupitz, who became concerned for the young monk. He decided that rather than allow him to indulge in constant internal reflection, he would send him away to Wittenberg. There, Martin

PAYING FOR YOUR SINS MEDIEVAL INDULGENCES

It was the selling of 'indulgences' – which reduced the amount of time the purchaser spent in purgatory for their sins – that so riled Martin Luther into taking action against the Catholic Church. Here's what forgiveness cost in 17th-century France...



For the crime of apostasy
(abandonment of belief): 24 livres (£140 today)

Bigamy: 1,050 livres (£6,150 today)

Murder in self-defence: 95 livres (£556)

Intentional sexual relations with a cousin:
880 livres (£5,154)

Unintentional sexual relations with a cousin:
145 livres (£850)

Reading a forbidden book: 25 livres (£146)



THE GUTENBERG PRINTING PRESS

Martin Luther was not the first person to speak openly about corruption within the Catholic Church. But those before him had failed to rally the public support needed for reformation, and their stories had often ended tragically – with death at the stake. What made Luther's campaign so successful was timing. Seventy years before he published his Ninety-Five Theses, a German named Johannes Gutenberg had invented the printing press. For the first time in history, information could be printed and disseminated en masse. Luther took advantage of this new technology to broadcast his message across the German states, producing pamphlets not in the scholarly language of Latin, but in the language of the common people. So that his word could reach even the illiterate,

he joined forces with a local artist – Lucas Cranach – who produced satirical woodcuts depicting the Pope as the spawn of the devil.

LEFT: In the pamphlet on the left, the Pope is portrayed as a donkey, while on the right a demon excretes a pontiff



Gutenberg's hand mould made it possible to rapidly produce thousands of copies

"I feel much freer now that I am certain the Pope is the Antichrist"

Martin Luther, in a letter dated 1520

would teach theology at the newly founded university, focusing on the spiritual needs of others rather than this own. By 1512, he had been promoted to Dean and in 1515, he was made provincial vicar of Saxony and Thuringia.

DEVIL'S ADVOCATE

A pilgrimage to Rome in 1510 led the new professor Luther to become increasingly concerned about corruption within the Church. He had seen the riches that were showered upon the Pope, and witnessed starving peasants handing over every penny of their earnings in exchange for indulgences. Surely this was not God's will? It was while preparing for a lecture that Professor Luther stumbled upon a passage from Romans: "The righteous shall live by faith". It was as though the gates of paradise had swung open. Finally he understood that it was only through faith that salvation is achieved, not through confession or fasting or indulgences. So when, in 1517, a Dominican friar arrived in the vicinity of Wittenberg selling indulgences to fund Pope Leo X's latest building project, Luther decided that he had had enough.

Sitting down at his desk, he began to pen his 'Ninety-Five Theses', containing stinging critiques on the Church's system of repentance.

The first stated: "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, 'Repent', he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance." It went on to deny the power of the Pope over people in purgatory, and argued that in fact indulgences make true repentance more difficult. The story goes that he nailed his Ninety-Five Theses to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg, although the accepted truth is a lot less dramatic: he posted them in a letter to the Archbishop of Mainz on, or soon after, 31 October 1517. His private thoughts had been unleashed into the world, and within two weeks, copies were being circulated around Germany. Within two months, they had spread through Europe.

The Archbishop did not send a reply to Luther's letter. Instead, he forwarded it on to Pope Leo. A heresy case was made against Luther, and he was summoned to meet with the papal legate Cardinal Cajetan at the next 'parliament', the Diet of Augsburg, in October 1518. The cardinal, rather than directly accusing him of heresy, expressed some sympathy with Luther's criticisms, but insisted that he recant them. However, throughout 1519 and 1520, Luther continued to attack the Church, becoming more and more popular among the people. In June 1520, the Pope issued a papal bull

(public decree) that threatened the monk with excommunication if he did not recant. Again, Luther refused, and threw the bull onto a bonfire in a public display of defiance. Shortly after, he published his 'Assertion of All the Articles Condemned by the Last Bull of the Antichrist'. This time, Luther had gone too far – he was to be excommunicated with immediate effect.

But Luther had an ally. At the time, Germany was part of the Holy Roman Empire, and was divided into states, seven of which were ruled by a prince-elector. The elector of Saxony was Frederick III – known as 'the wise' – who had founded the university where Luther taught and had previously attempted to reform the constitutional order of the empire. No one is quite sure why he took such a liking to Luther – perhaps it was in appreciation for putting Saxony on the map, perhaps he too felt that the Church had grown too powerful. Whatever the reason, Frederick managed to persuade the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V that Luther should not be condemned without a hearing.

The date was set for 17 April 1521, at the Imperial Diet of Worms. Before the Emperor, Luther declared: "I neither can nor will revoke anything, for it is neither safe nor honest to act against one's conscience." After a month of deliberation, Charles presented the final edict, which stated: "We forbid anyone from this time forward to dare, either by words or by deeds, to receive, sustain or favour the said Martin Luther. On the contrary, we want him to be captured and punished as a notorious heretic."

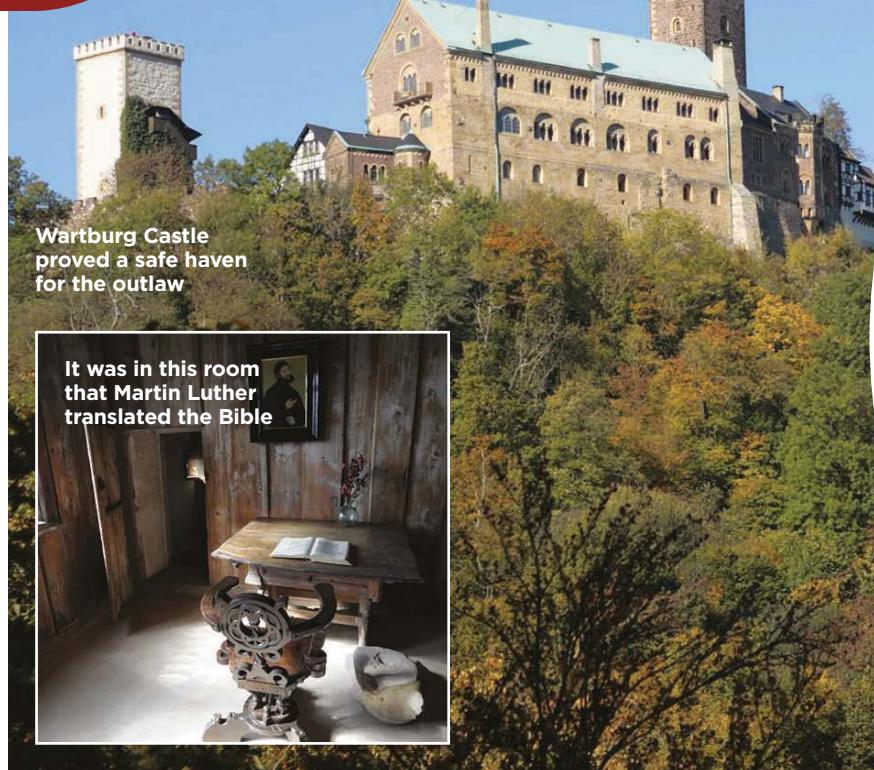


ROME'S MOST WANTED MARTIN LUTHER

But Luther was nowhere to be found. He had disappeared the previous month on his return to Wittenberg, assumed dead. Little did they know that in fact, this devious monk was safe and sound. Knowing the fate that awaited him, Prince Frederick had arranged for Luther to be 'kidnapped' by horsemen, and hid the monk at Wartburg Castle – a fortress perched on a rocky precipice deep in the heart of the Thuringian Forest. For the next ten months, this castle would be his home. He was given a room on the top floor, accessible only by a narrow staircase. He rid himself of his monk's vestments, grew his hair long and assumed the name 'Junker George'.

Here, Luther embarked on his greatest project yet: translating the New Testament into German. No longer would the common people have to rely on Latin-speaking priests to relay God's message, now they could read the Bible themselves. He did this in just three months. But the isolation once again took its toll. He became convinced that the bats and owls who lived in the eaves were messengers of the devil, and that the strange noises he heard at night were demons throwing walnuts at the ceiling. "I can tell you in this idle solitude there are a thousand battles with Satan... It is much easier to fight against the incarnate Devil – that is, against men – than against spiritual wickedness in the heavenly places."

Meanwhile, Saxony had descended into chaos. Parishioners had taken it upon themselves to



continue Luther's work, but rather than do it through sermons and letter-writing, violence had become their medium. Peasants refused to pay dues to the church, clerical houses were sacked, statues of the Virgin Mary were torn down and

priests were pelted with mud balls. Luther, hearing of the trouble, wrote an open letter to the rebels: "You have gone about the business in a way of which I cannot approve, using your fists, and if this happens again I shall not take your part." Wittenberg parish council soon realised that Luther was the only one who could restore order, and, ignoring the Edict of Worms, in spring 1522 they requested that he return.

For a while, there was peace. Luther settled back into his old quarters and began preaching again, his popularity only continuing to rise.

"If they say that I am very hard and merciless, mercy be damned"

Luther, quoted in Erlangen Volume 24

A NEW STATUS QUO THE NUNS AND THE HERRING BARRELS

It's not often that a man's reasons for marriage are to "please his father, rile the Pope, cause the angels to laugh, and the devils to weep", but this was the case for Martin Luther. Arguably, the circumstances in which he met his wife were even more bizarre.

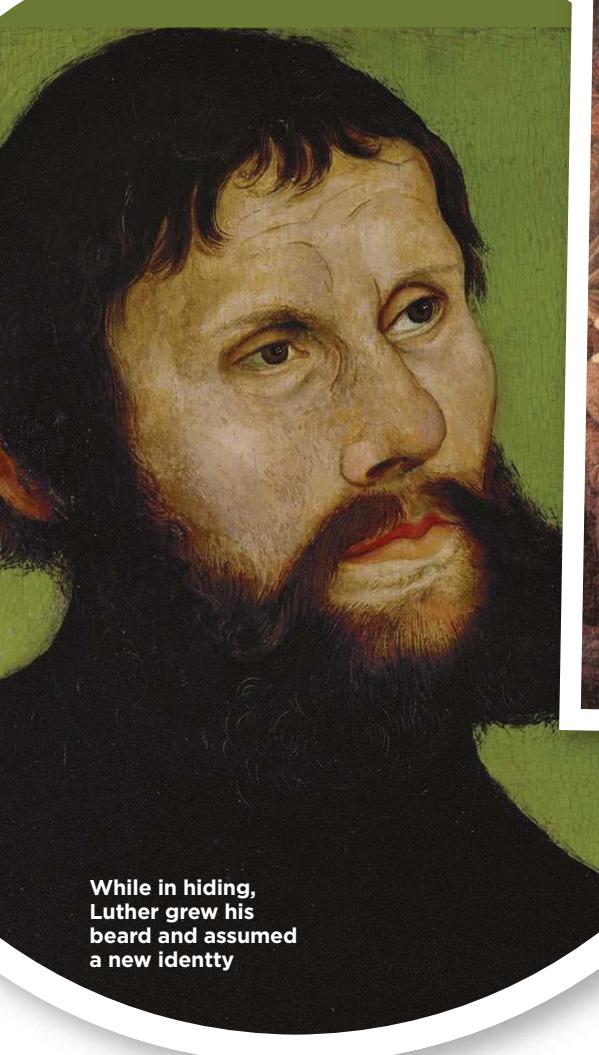
In 1923, he received a letter from a nun in Grimma, Saxony, begging for him to rescue her and several other women from the convent there. They had become disillusioned with monastic life and, having heard about the reform movement, believed that Luther could help them.

He arranged for a local merchant to smuggle the nuns out in his covered wagon, hidden among the herring barrels, but when they returned home to their families they were rejected. They had broken their monastic vows and were nothing better than criminals. Instead, Luther found them suitable husbands and new homes – all except for one: Katharina von Bora. This particular nun said that she would marry only Luther himself. But what of his own vow of celibacy that he had made upon joining the monastery?

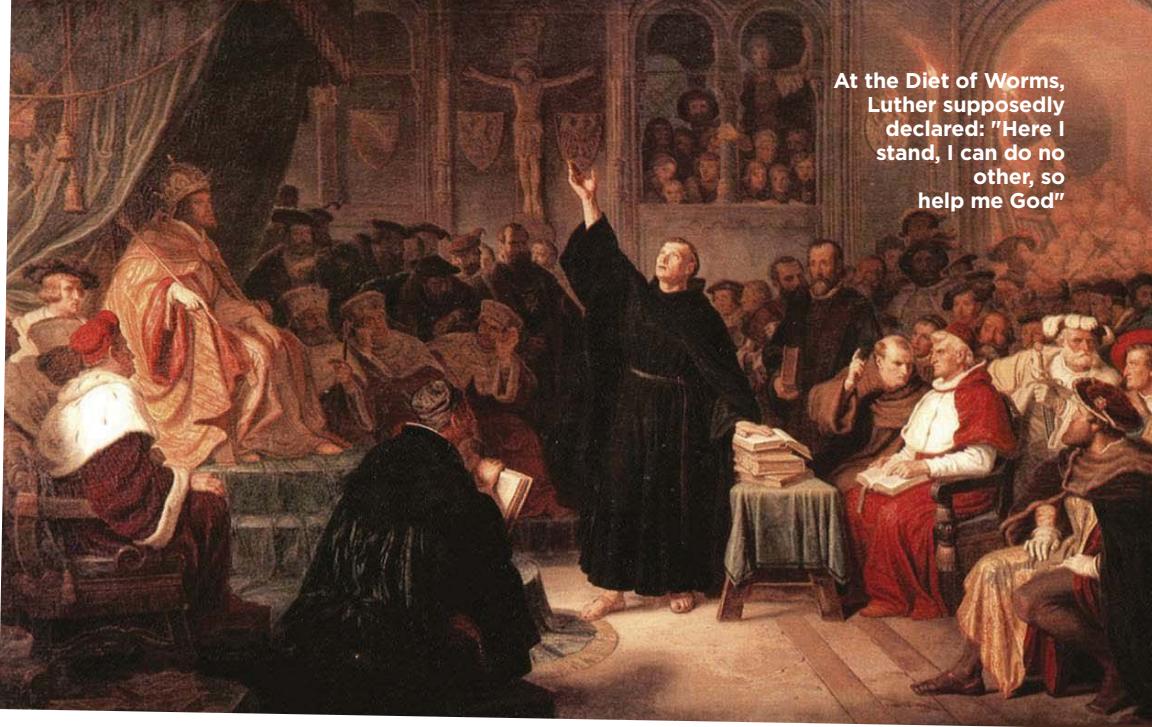
His colleagues urged him to refuse, warning that marriage would damage his reputation, but – ever the rebel – this monk had other ideas. The pair were wed on 13 June 1525, giving the seal of approval to clerical marriage within the Protestant church.



Katharina von Bora vowed to wed only the Reformer himself



While in hiding,
Luther grew his
beard and assumed
a new identity



At the Diet of Worms,
Luther supposedly
declared: "Here I
stand, I can do no
other, so
help me God"

JUST THE BEGINNING THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

It was six German princes who were the first to be called 'protestants', thanks to a letter of protestation they signed opposing the ban on Luther's reformation. From then on, the movement that this monk had sparked was known as Protestantism. This new form of Christianity placed all emphasis on Scripture rather than the clergy, and preached that it was only through faith, not deeds, that an individual would achieve salvation.

Despite the Holy Roman Emperor's attempts to extinguish the flames of change, Luther's teachings continued to spread across the continent. Throughout the 16th century, Lutheranism blazed through all of Scandinavia as well as Estonia and Latvia. In 1541, a Frenchman named John Calvin – who had also been exiled for his condemnation of the Catholic Church – was invited to settle in Geneva, Switzerland. It became a hotbed for Protestants, and his doctrines soon reached Scotland, France and the Low Countries.

Meanwhile, in England, a man named Henry had also rejected the supremacy of the Pope. When Rome refused to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, the King of England declared himself the head of a new church – the Church of England – and from 1536, proceeded to dissolve the monasteries.

In 1555, the Peace of Augsberg was passed, which allowed the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire to choose either Catholicism or Lutheranism as their official religion. The majority chose the latter. However, when Ferdinand II, King of Bohemia, tried to enforce Catholicism on his domains, the largely Protestant nobility rebelled, triggering the devastating Thirty Years' War that saw almost all of central, western and northern Europe taking arms between 1618 and 1648.

Over the following centuries, conflict between Catholics and Protestants continued, with the British civil wars resulting largely from King Charles I's perceived Catholic-ness. These clashes remain in the collective memory to this day, with the Northern Irish Troubles – a war between mostly Catholic republicans and mostly Protestant unionists – only drawing to an end in 1998.



GET HOOKED

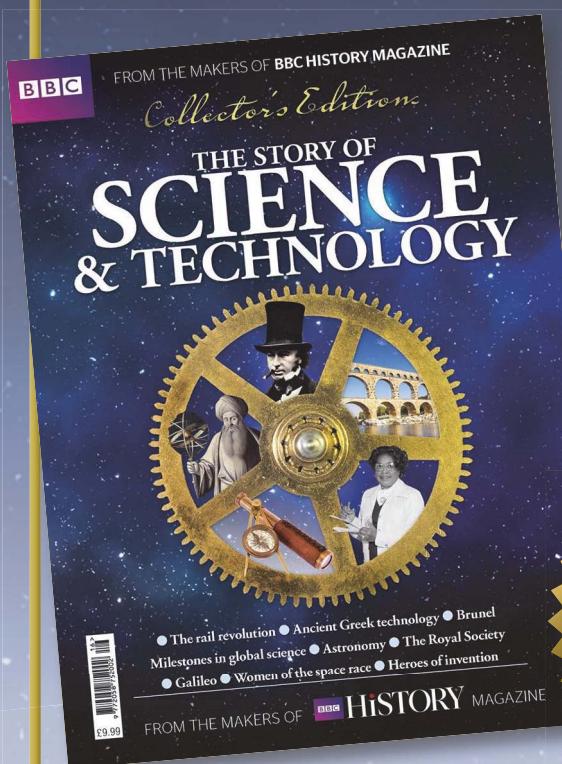
1517: Martin Luther and the Invention of the Reformation by Peter Marshall (Oxford University Press, 2017) provides an in-depth analysis of the events of October 1517, separating fact from fiction.

Henry VIII was responsible
for bringing the Reformation
to England and Wales

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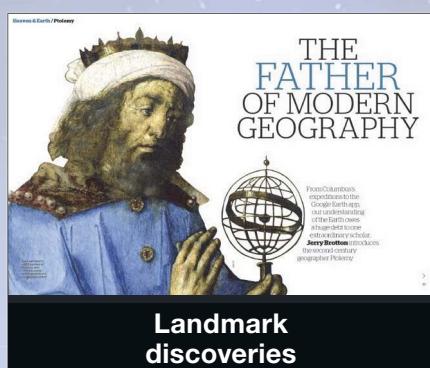
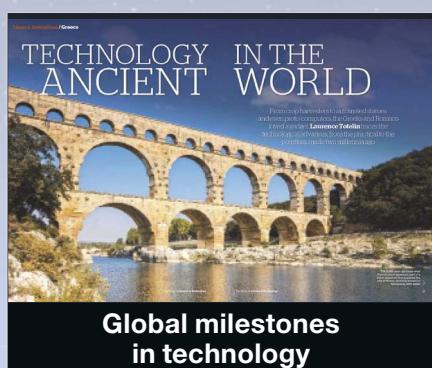


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Q&A

YOU ASK, WE ANSWER

IN A NUTSHELL p79 • **HOW DID THEY DO THAT?** p80
• **WHY DO WE SAY...** p78 • **WHAT IS IT?** p83

OUR EXPERTS

EMILY BRAND

Social historian, genealogist and author of *Mr Darcy's Guide to Courtship* (2013)



JULIAN HUMPHREYS

Development Officer for The Battlefields Trust and author



ADAM JACOT DE BOINOD

Author and journalist, worked on the BBC panel show QI



SANDRA LAWRENCE

Writer and columnist with a specialist interest in British heritage subjects



RUPERT MATTHEWS

Author on a range of historical subjects, from ancient to modern



MILES RUSSELL

Author and senior lecturer in prehistoric and Roman archaeology at Bournemouth University



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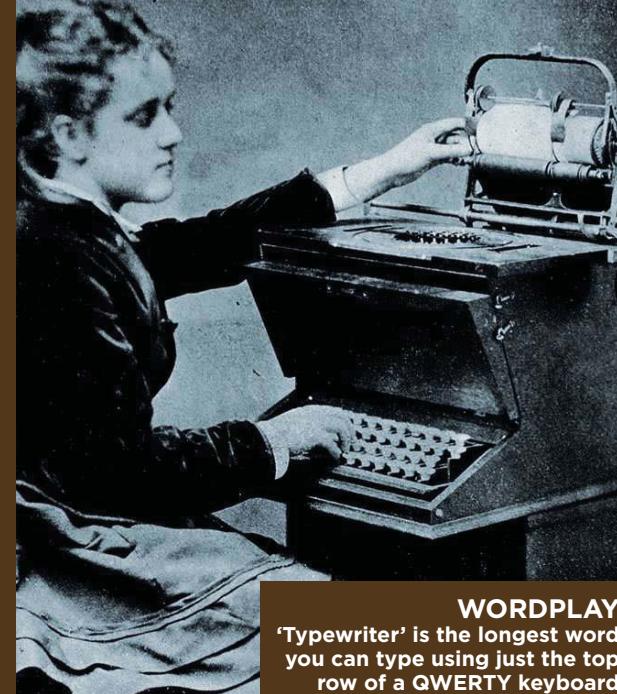
O Bracelets and pendants containing mechanical clocks were worn as jewellery by the wealthy as early as the 16th century - Elizabeth I reportedly received one as a gift from Robert Dudley. As late as 1916, however, the 'bracelet watch' was thought not only a feminine trinket but a "silly-ass fad" by the *New York Times*. However, by the 1880s, the British military had recognised its practical uses in favour of the unwieldy pocket watch and it became an essential strategic tool during World War I. By peacetime, the 'wristlet watch' was a common component of male attire. EB

DID YOU KNOW?

ANCIENT TIMEKEEPING

The Ancient Egyptians divided the day into two cycles of 12 hours. Sundials were used at daytime and water clocks at night.

QUALITY TIME
Glamorous marketing led to wristwatches becoming must-have accessories during the 20th century



Who invented **the typewriter?**

 In 1575, Francesco Rampazetto the Elder, an Italian typographer and publisher, invented a machine called the *scrittura tattile*, which impressed letters on pages and, in 1714, British engineer Henry Mill patented a ‘Machine for Transcribing Letters’.

Early prototypes took weird and wonderful forms, from ‘writing balls’ covered in letters to cumbersome frames, but none captured the public imagination.

The first commercially successful ‘type-writer’ was patented in 1868 by Christopher Latham Sholes and friends Carlos Glidden and Samuel Soule. Sholes later came up with the QWERTY keyboard, though it’s unlikely it was based on the frequency of use of individual letters; rather, it was arranged in a way that minimised key-jams.

However, Sholes ran into financial difficulties and, in 1873, sold the patent to the Remington Arms Company for \$12,000. The Remington Typewriter's success later established QWERTY as the standard keyboard layout for Western typewriters. **SL**

WHAT CONNECTS...

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR AND THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO?



- 1** In 1805, Spain, allied with France at the time, provided part of the fleet that was crushingly defeated by Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.

2 Vittoria-born Don Miguel-Ricardo de Álava, served on-board one of the largest Spanish ships during the battle, the *Santa Ana*.

3 When Spain allied itself with Britain against France in 1808, Álava served on the Duke of Wellington's staff as a liaison officer.

4 In 1815, Álava joined the Waterloo campaign, and is the only person known to have been present at both Trafalgar and Waterloo.

Which ships were **the** **first and** **last U-boat** **victims** of World War II?

Both the first and last ships to be sunk by U-boats proved to be controversial. At 9pm on 3 September 1939, just ten hours after war was declared, U-30 – commanded by Fritz-Julius Lemp – sank the 13,500-ton liner, *Athenia*, 250 miles off the Irish coast. In all, 98 passengers and 19 crew died. The sinking of an unarmed passenger ship brought international condemnation. The last *Avondale Park*, sunk off Scotland by German U-boat surrender. U-2336's unaware of the truce due to a faulty

WHO IS THE FIRST BRITON FOR WHOM WE HAVE A PORTRAIT?

 Coins with a realistic portrait were produced in the early years of the first century AD by Cunobelinus, a king who ruled over much of what is now Hertfordshire and Essex. Many show a clean-shaven male face with a neat Roman haircut. Alternatively, they could, just as easily, be a native representation of the Emperor, intended to honour the Roman 'overlord'. Some of Cunobelinus's coins, however, carry a more striking face, complete with beard and moustache. If these did not depict a native god, then it is possible that they are the first true portrait of a British face. **MR**

HIGH PROFILE
coins may provide the
earliest depictions
of Britons.



IN A NUTSHELL

THE FALL OF ROME

Lottie Goldfinch explains why the ancient empire waned



When did Rome actually fall?

The fall of the Roman empire is one of the most debated questions among historians of the ancient world. Its collapse has been blamed on a number of different reasons, but even the exact date of its end is still questioned. Some historians give AD 476 as the date the empire ended. Other historians say that the Roman empire never actually ended at all, claiming that its eastern half continued in the form of the Byzantine Empire.

Who was Rome's last emperor?

The last Roman emperor is generally accepted as being Romulus Augustus (aka Augustulus). A teenager when he took the imperial throne, he ruled for just over ten months before being deposed by the Germanic leader Odoacer.

When did the cracks first begin to show in the empire?

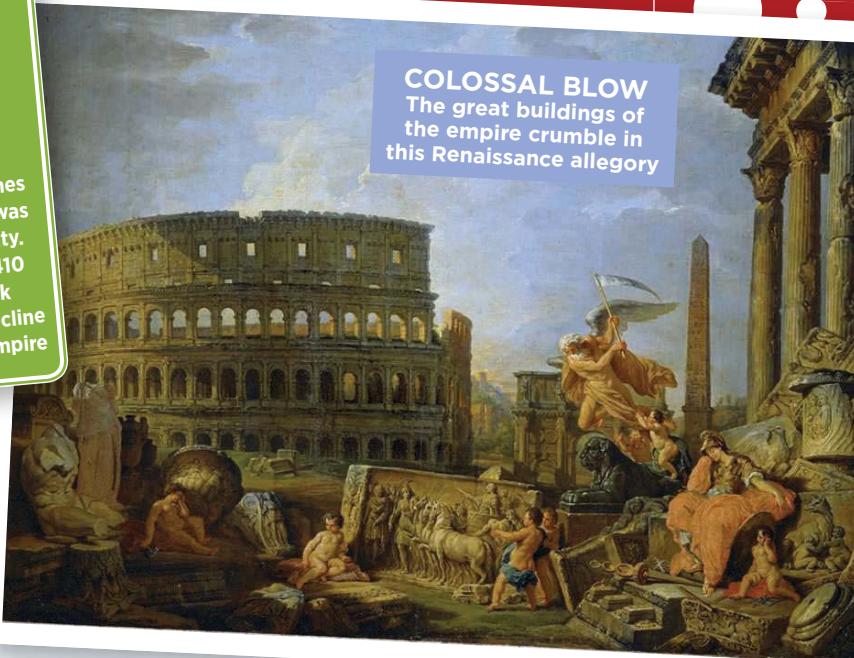
Again, this is a heavily debated question. Many date the beginning of Rome's end to about AD 190, when the empire started to come under attack from various tribes, including the fierce Germanic tribes known as the Goths and the Vandals.

Was it purely outside factors that caused the empire's fall?

No. There are several contributing factors, some of which were taking place within the empire itself. Severe financial crisis caused by

6

The number of times the city of Rome was sacked in antiquity. The sack of AD 410 was a landmark moment in the decline of the Western Empire



COLOSSAL BLOW
The great buildings of the empire crumble in this Renaissance allegory

wars and overspending had led to over-taxation and inflation. This in turn saw Romans fleeing to the countryside as a way of avoiding the taxman. In addition, the empire's expansion had slowed down considerably by the second century, meaning that the steady stream of labour provided by slaves brought in from conquered lands had also halted, causing a major labour deficit. Agricultural and commercial production declined as a result, which in turn affected trade.

Government corruption and political instability were also contributing factors to the empire's eventual fall. A series of

Praetorian Guard – bodyguards to the emperor – which was using its power to decide to promote, or kill off, would-be emperors. The Senate, too, was rife with corruption and was unable, or unwilling, to rein in the excesses of its rulers. The people began to lose faith in its leaders.

Civil war also weakened the empire. The third century had

to recruit men to its army. Foreign mercenaries who were recruited – including the Goths and barbarians who were trying to take the Romans' land – failed to have the same loyalty to the empire and often turned against their employers.

What other factors are thought to have contributed to the empire's fall?

Rome's influence was reduced significantly in the third century when Emperor Diocletian took the decision to divide the empire into two halves: the Western Empire had its capital in Milan, while the Eastern Empire would have its capital in Byzantium, later known as Constantinople. Although the move made the empire easier to govern, the two halves drifted apart and failed to work in unison to see off external threats. The eastern half continued to grow in wealth, but the western part, which saw economic decline and continued barbarian attacks, eventually fell in the fifth century.

Some historians also cite Christianity as a factor in Rome's fall. The religion was legalised in AD 313 and became a state religion in AD 380. Although this decree saw an end to the persecution of Christians, it also saw the decline of the Roman religion, which worshipped many gods and viewed the emperor as a divine being.

"All that is human must retrograde if it does not advance"

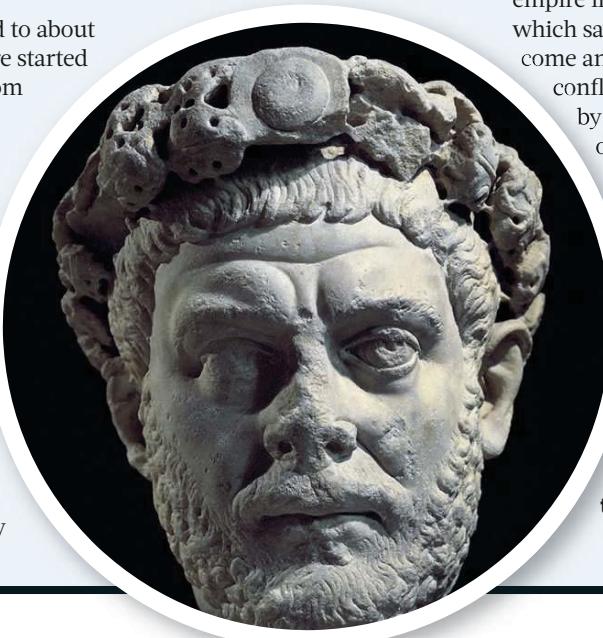
Edward Gibbon, 18th-century historian

weak emperors from the second century had seen more than 20 men on the imperial throne in just 75 years, thanks in part to the

seen emperor Alexander Severus murdered by his own troops while on campaign – the ensuing political instability launched the empire into a crippling civil war, which saw dozens of emperors come and go. This period of conflict was exacerbated by external threats from outside forces and continued well into the fourth century.

Rome's famous legions also began to falter, and it became increasingly difficult

OUSTED
Deposed in AD 476, Romulus Augustus is believed to have been the last emperor of the Western Empire





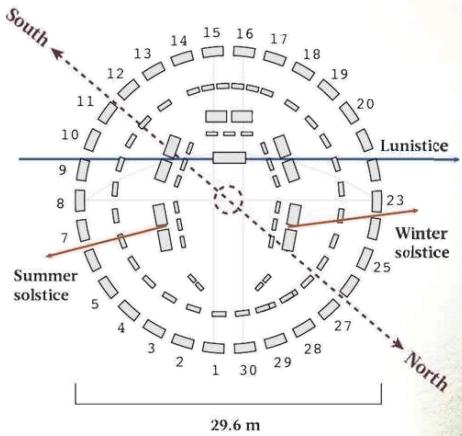
HOW DID THEY DO THAT? STONEHENGE

The mystery of the prehistoric site continues to capture the world's imagination

Construction Construction of Stonehenge is believed to have started about 5,000 years ago. Initially, a timber circle was erected, which was replaced with stones around 2600 BC during the late Neolithic period. The monument sits at the centre of an ancient ritual landscape, and is joined to another nearby henge via both an earthwork avenue and the River Avon. During the Bronze Age, depictions of axe-heads and daggers were carved into its stones – a prehistoric display of power. Debate rages over who exactly built it and for what purpose. Most experts believe its chief function was as a temple for solar worship.

THE LAYOUT

The central monument was built to align with key celestial events and natural phenomena.



NEOLITHIC CALENDAR

The monument's orientation frames the rising Sun during the summer solstice and the setting Sun during the winter solstice. These predictable events were clearly of tremendous significance to Stonehenge's creators.



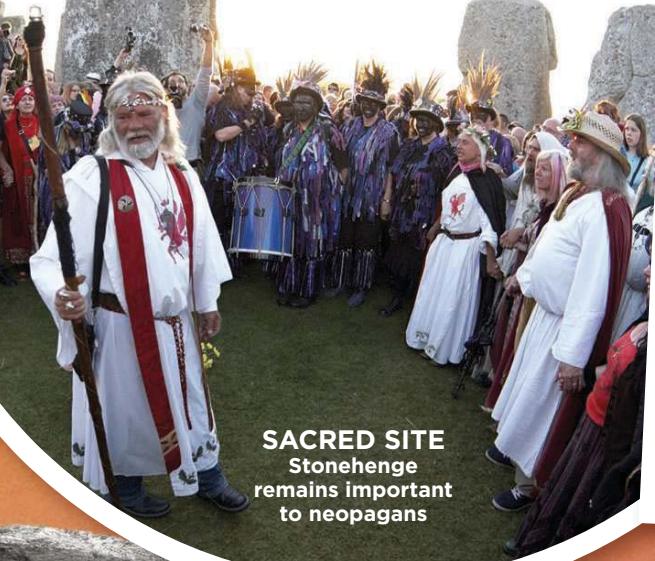
SARSEN STONE

The larger stones are a type of sandstone common across southern England.



NEOLITHIC ART

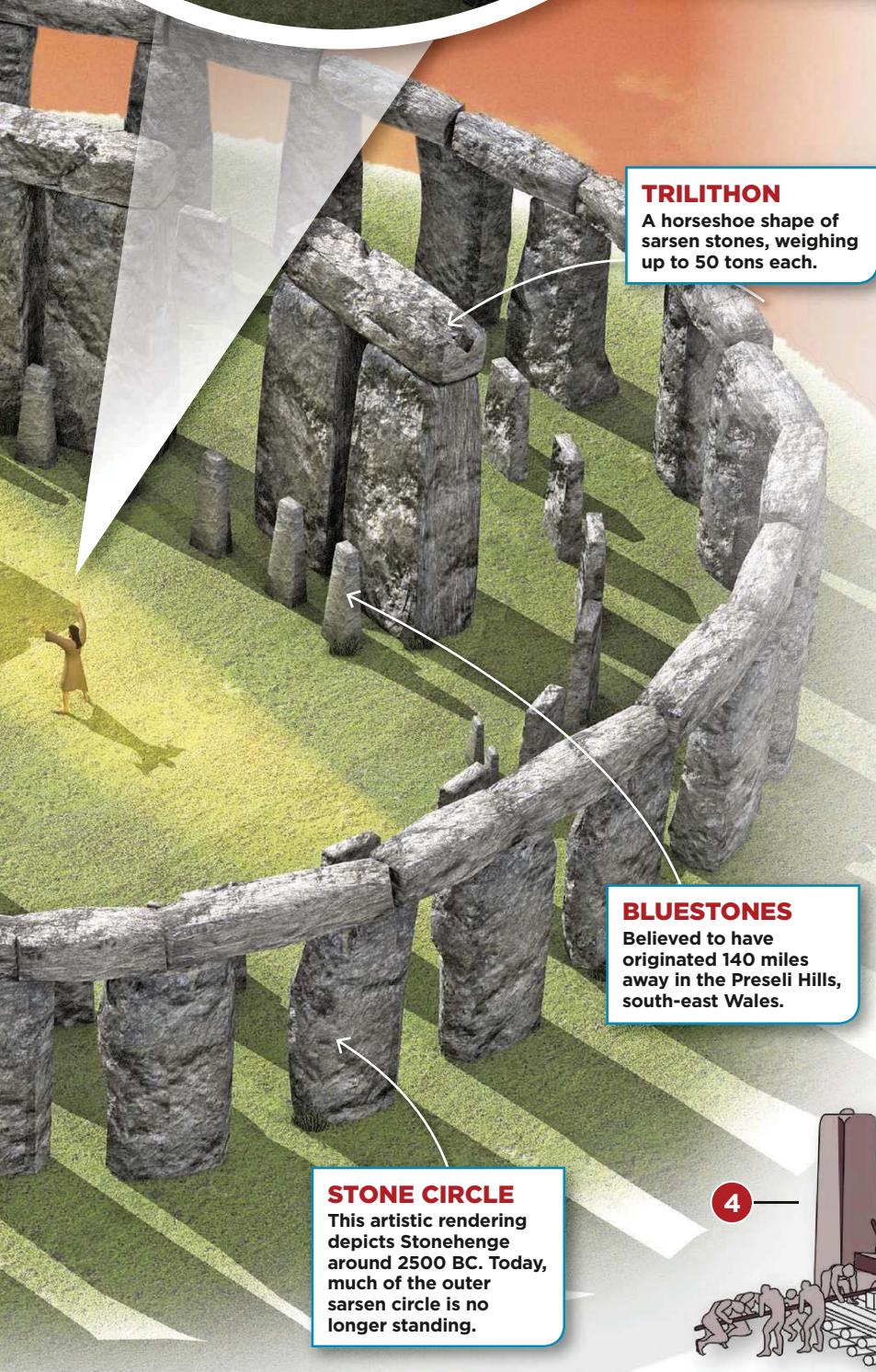
Several stones feature carvings of prehistoric tools and weaponry.



SACRED SITE
Stonehenge
remains important
to neopagans



SOLAR POWER
At the winter and
summer solstices, the Sun
aligns with the stones



TRILITHON
A horseshoe shape of
sarsen stones, weighing
up to 50 tons each.

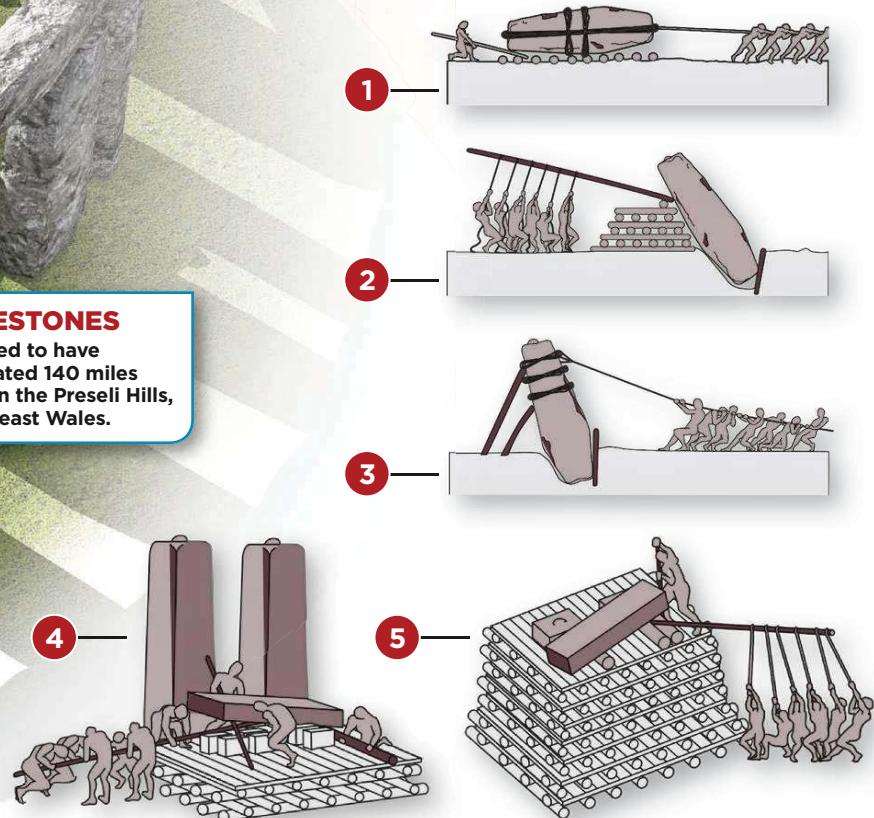
BLUESTONES
Believed to have
originated 140 miles
away in the Preseli Hills,
south-east Wales.

STONE CIRCLE
This artistic rendering
depicts Stonehenge
around 2500 BC. Today,
much of the outer
sarsen circle is no
longer standing.

PREHISTORIC ENGINEERING

The scale and origin of the stones on Salisbury Plain have baffled archaeologists for centuries. How a seemingly primitive civilisation might have moved and lifted them is illustrated by this most commonly-held theory:

1. The stones came from miles away and were likely hurled across land on wooden rollers.
2. A large hole lined with wooden stakes enabled the stones to be anchored.
3. The stone was then pulled upright by dozens of people.
4. The upright and horizontal stones were shaped to allow protruding tenons to slot comfortably into mortice holes.
5. A timber frame was erected to enable the builders to reach the top of the stones.



WE ATE WHAT?!

ANCIENT ADULTERANTS

 Ever since rogue Ancient Greek and Roman chefs added honey, salt water and lead to wine, dodgy vendors have tampered with food for profit. In the Middle Ages, spices were made to go further by adding dried berries, nuts, seed, gravel, sand and even dust. Flour and milk spent centuries being bulked out or watered down, then made to look halfway decent with alum, chalk, plaster and white lead. Cheese was coloured with red lead, while flour and arrowroot were added to cream to thicken it.

In 1820, Frederick Accum, a German-born chemist, made a study of food adulteration. Published simultaneously in Britain and the USA, *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons* helped to raise public awareness of a problem we still face. SL



ILLUSTRATION: JONTY CLARK, ALAMY X2, GETTY X4

DID YOU KNOW?

POISONED SWEETS
In 1858, over 200 people were poisoned by sweets made with arsenic. This inspired legislation to regulate adulteration in the UK.



DOMESTIC GODDESSES
Greek women had little power outside the home

What did women do in Ancient Greek society?

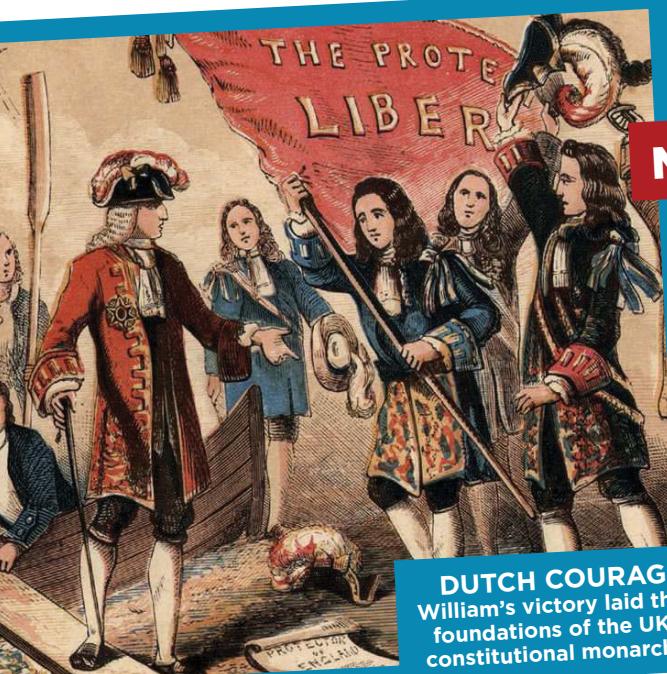
 Given the patriarchal nature of Ancient Greek society, we hear very little about the lives, thoughts and daily activities of women. Despite the fact that the people of Athens prided themselves on being democratic and free, women couldn't vote nor had any real say in the running of society, being under the control of fathers, guardians or husbands. Childbirth and the keeping

of house and home were considered essential civic duties, inheritance passing down through the male side of the family. While the women of Athens had very little freedom, those of Sparta were able to own land and participate in athletic games and warrior training. Spartan society was, needless to say, looked down on as 'deviant' by the rest of the Ancient Greek world. MR

MYTH BUSTING

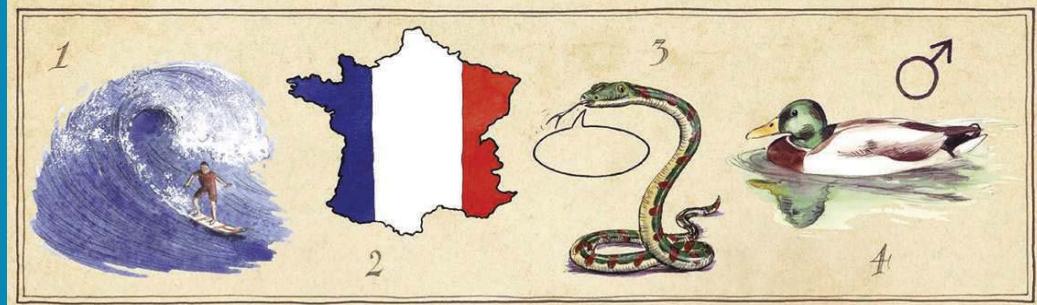
When was England last invaded by a foreign power?

 Not 1066, but 1688. We like to portray the overthrow of James II in that year as a 'Glorious Revolution', but when the Dutch ruler William of Orange landed at Torbay on 5 November to replace him, it was at the head of a large professional foreign army. He initially received little assistance from James's English opponents, and when he marched into London in December, he did so after ordering all the English troops that remained there to leave the capital. Dutch guards replaced English ones and, for 18 months, London was effectively under Dutch military occupation.



DUTCH COURAGE
William's victory laid the foundations of the UK's constitutional monarchy

This explorer made his name during the reign of Elizabeth I

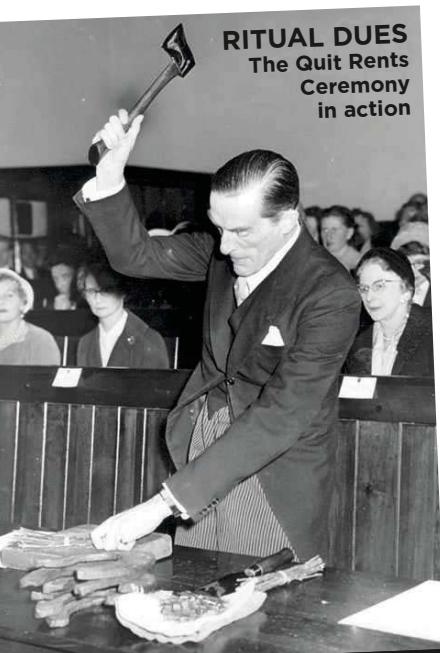


What was Percy Shelley's first poem?

The earliest known poem by the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley was penned around 1803–05, when he was aged between 11 and 13, and survived only because it was later transcribed by his sister. His chosen topic was a hungry cat, and he charmingly explained to his readers: "Good folks I must faithfully tell ye / As I am a sinner / It wants for some dinner / To stuff out its own little belly". He didn't begin his serious writing career for another decade, with the nine-canto philosophical poem *Queen Mab*, published in 1813. EB



What are Quit Rents?



One of the City of London's more arcane rituals, the Quit Rents Ceremony dates back to 1211. It sees a token – or 'quit' – rental paid by the City to the Crown for two parcels of land ('quit' rents originally meaning a payment in lieu of other feudal obligations). There's just one problem: no one knows exactly where either of the two plots actually are. One is near Bridgnorth in Shropshire; the other was a forge in the Strand area. The Shropshire rent is two

knives, one sharp and one blunt, their cutting capabilities tested against a hazel rod in full view of the court. The City plot's annual 'fee' is six horseshoes and 61 nails.

Two knives are forged new each year by the Worshipful Company of Cutlers, but the horseshoes and nails are antiques, dating back to 1361 – gigantic iron crescents lent to the City by the Crown so they can use them in 'payment'. Presiding over this scene at the Royal Courts of Justice every October sits the Queen's Remembrancer, resplendent in black robes, lace cravat, shiny shoes and an 18th-century wig with a tricorn hat perched on top. SL

WHAT IS IT?

WHAT PART DID THIS INSTRUMENT PLAY IN MUSIC HISTORY?

SEE ANSWERS BELOW



8

The age at which child prodigy Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart composed his first symphony

NOW SEND US YOUR QUESTIONS

Want to know more about your favourite historical monarch, or uncover the origin of a peculiar saying? Get in touch!

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editor@historyrevealed.com

What is it? This was Ludwig van Beethoven's ear trumpet. The composer was completely deaf by 1816.
His Drake (Sir Francis Drake) Surf France
Answers: Hidden Historicals Surf France



Want to enjoy more history? Our monthly guide to activities and resources is a great place to start

HERE & NOW

BRITAIN'S TREASURES p86 • BOOKS p88

ON OUR RADAR

What's caught our attention this month...

EXHIBITION

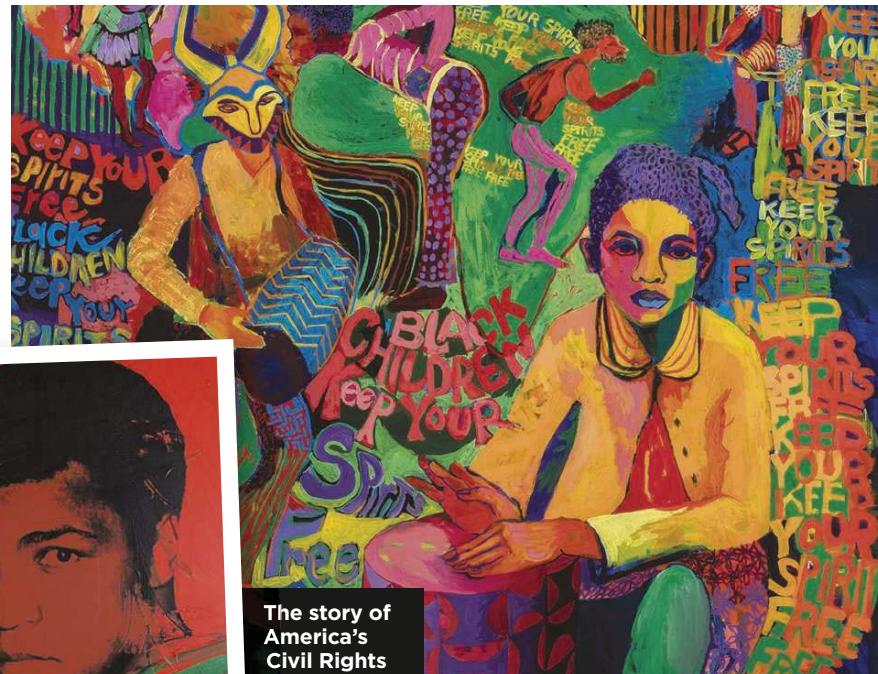
Soul of a Nation: Art in the age of Black Power

Ends 22 October, Tate Modern, London
www.bit.ly/2kvk4f5

Now a world-renowned gallery, Tate Modern's latest exhibition showcases the vital work of artists and designers during the American Civil Rights Movement. The experiences of black people in terms of oppression, systematic racism and segregation all inform the masterpieces on show here, but the works express an optimism for the revolutionary times in which they were produced. Highlights include sculptures made with Afro hair, inspirational murals and photographs, like this one of Muhammad Ali (right), by Andy Warhol.



The story of America's Civil Rights Movement is told through paintings, sculpture, photography and fashion



EVENT

Fright Fest

22-31 October, Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire www.bit.ly/2vosSJW

Constructed on the site of a pagan graveyard, the creepy castle will be opening after dark this Halloween. Some visitors have described scary supernatural experiences, but will you have a close encounter with a ghoul?

Enjoy a guided tour of the Stuart mansion and sample a special Halloween-themed drink.



EVENT

October Half Term

30 October - 3 November, National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon www.bit.ly/2wrRlpd

Keep the children entertained and head to the National Roman Legion Museum, where they can create their very own mosaic tile out of clay and decorate it with a freaky face! They can also download the special app to find the 'Spookemons'.





TALK

Inglis' Amazons

7-8 October, Edinburgh Castle
www.bit.ly/2v58ueu

Elsie Inglis was a pioneering Scottish doctor who went to the front lines of World War I to set up field hospitals, despite being told not to. Now, you can meet one of her 'amazons' – the nurses who followed her – and listen to tales of war, peace, and sexism at Edinburgh Castle.

TO BUY

Spitfire Pilot Watch

Imperial War Museum Shop, £40
www.bit.ly/2ituYmR

Know someone who flew a Spitfire, or simply looking for a gift for a flying fanatic? This lovely timepiece is exclusive to the Imperial War Museum. Created with watchmakers Limit, who have been producing quality watches since 1912, its design is based on a Spitfire blueprint. Its colour scheme also reflects the timeless style of the classic plane.



Audience members become part of the action in this immersive performance

PERFORMANCE

The People's Revolt

Selected dates throughout October, Tower of London www.bit.ly/2uqzseC

Groundbreaking theatre company differencEngine really break the fourth wall with this interactive play, performed at the Tower of London. Leading the audience in an uprising not too dissimilar to Wat Tyler's 1381

Peasants' Revolt, they try to overthrow the powers that be, representing unfair authority and harsh taxes. Experience the anticipation that revolutionaries feel as you storm bravely into the Tower, your fate unknown.

WATCH

Marshall

In cinemas 13 October (USA),
20 October (UK)

This biopic stars Chadwick Boseman as Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (right), the first African-American judge in the US's top law court. It depicts a pivotal moment in his early career, in which he represents a black chauffeur wrongly accused of sexual assault and attempted murder. Partnered with Sam Friedman, a young and inexperienced Jewish insurance lawyer (Josh Gad, left), the unlikely pair fight to save the innocent man from punishment.



► ALSO LOOK OUT FOR

- Torchlight Tours – Explore the dungeons by torchlight after hours, and hear scary stories. 23-27 October, Carlisle Castle, Cumbria www.bit.ly/2v3S1J5
- Exile! – The new exhibition celebrates the life of William John Banks, persecuted for being homosexual. Kingston Lacy, Dorset, ends 12 November www.bit.ly/2gupiaa

FYNE SETTING

The town and castle are perched on the edge of Loch Fyne – a popular diving and fishing spot



FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

The 126-foot Inveraray bell tower was built after **World War I** to honour the Campbells who had died fighting.

BRITAIN'S TREASURES... INVERARAY Argyll and Bute, Scotland

Ramble around the picturesque and peaceful Inveraray, a unique Scottish town with an equally quirky history

GETTING THERE:
The little village has no train station, but the 926 bus runs from Glasgow 5–6 times a day. The journey time is around one hour and 45 minutes. For an easier journey by car, the village is along the A83.



FIND OUT MORE:
Pick up a guidebook about Argyll and Bute to read more about the 'Gateway to the Highlands and Islands'. Alternatively, visit the official visitor's guide at www.inveraray-argyll.com

On the pretty western shore of Loch Fyne sits the town of Inveraray. Though it was officially founded in 1745, the town's history dates back much further. A castle dating from the 15th century once dominated the landscape, and the village was a quaint assortment of cottages, a church, school and a disproportionate number of taverns – 43, to be exact.

In 1648, the town was made a royal burgh, in recognition of its importance to the region. Its accessible natural harbour made it

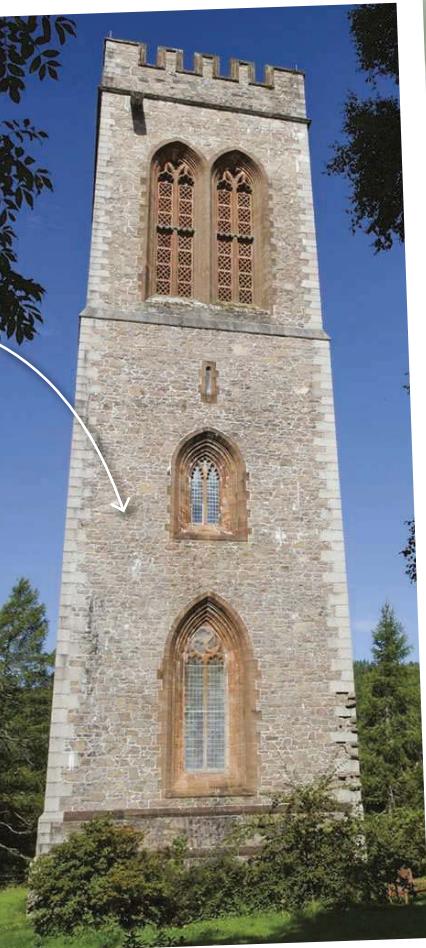
a natural centre for the rural area of Argyll.

The chief of Clan Campbell, Archibald, then decided to demolish the medieval fortress, and build himself a luxurious castle. However, to ensure his vast grounds would be well-landscaped and pretty, he'd have to completely relocate the town of Inveraray to a site half a mile away.

Plans for the new city lay stagnant until 1772, when Archibald's nephew brought in Robert Mylne, a prolific architect from Edinburgh. Over the next

30 years, the new town was fitted out with adorable cottages, a woollen mill and a fishing pier. Since the lake was well-stocked with herring, the erection of this pier was to play a major role in the town's prosperity in later years.

But it wasn't just the meddlings of the aristocracy that would reshape Inveraray in the 18th century. Following the Jacobite uprising of 1745, the British authorities realised that in order to effectively deal with future rebellions by the Scottish clans, they would need better access to



Climb 176 steps to the top of Inveraray Bell Tower for a view over the town and Loch Fyne

WHAT TO LOOK FOR...



CASTLE

The seat of the dukes of Argyll, this turreted mansion is undoubtedly the town's most striking landmark. It features intricate Neo-Gothic windows and a 16-acre garden.



DUN NA CUAICHE

Clamber up the Dun na Cuaiche on the outskirts of town and you'll be greeted by an 18th-century watchtower, with stunning views of the loch, town and castle to boot.



LOCH FYNE

Stretching for 40 miles, the loch on which Inveraray sits is the longest sea loch in Scotland. On its shores, you'll find plenty of scenic walks, drives and picnic spots.



ARAY BRIDGE

This bridge in the grounds of the castle was built on the site of General Wade's 18th-century military bridge, which was destroyed by flooding.



JAIL

This grisly 19th-century jail is now a fascinating museum. See for yourself what prison was like for a Victorian convict, as actors portray the characters who lived inside.



MAIN STREET

Take a stroll on Inveraray's black-and-white high street, browse the traditional souvenir stores, and end your walk with a trip to the Loch Fyne whisky shop.

WHY NOT VISIT...

The area surrounding Loch Fyne has many examples of people living harmoniously with nature

ARDKINGLAS

Wander in the beautiful groves, ponds and floral fields of Ardkinglas, a privately owned manor on the shores of the loch. www.ardkinglas.com

CRARAE GARDEN

For more exotic landscaping, Crarae has it all. This Himalayan-styled garden features waterfalls, bridges and a whole host of plant species from the faraway mountains. nts.org.uk/Visit/Crarae-garden

AUCHINDRAIN TOWNSHIP

If you're after a taste of life in rural Scotland, this living history museum recreates peasant life before the Highland Clearances. www.auchindrain.org.uk

"The sleepy town became a centre of military action"

their heartland, the Highlands. At this time, Inveraray was a remote spot, 40 miles from the nearest carriage route. Its infrastructure was about to change completely.

ROAD RAGE

British General George Wade oversaw the construction of a new network of roads and bridges, which connected the town to the military bases in the north: Fort William, Fort Augustus and Fort George. This helped to neutralise the threat of further insurrection. One of the roads he created became the precursor to the modern-day A83, the principal route into Inveraray. A memorial stone entitled 'rest and be thankful', erected in 1750, commemorates the road he built.

Coupled with the better transport links, advances in technology and engineering made Inveraray a popular tourist destination over the following decades. Steamships connected the town to the sea. Indeed, the last operating paddle steamer in the world, *Waverley*, still occasionally visits Inveraray in the summer months.

The remote and sleepy town became a centre of military action in the 20th century. Inveraray's lakeside spot meant it served as a training ground during the preparations for D-Day. The area was used extensively to practice for the amphibious landings. King George VI, Winston Churchill and even General Eisenhower came to see the action for themselves.

A surprising casualty of the war was Inveraray's church steeple, which was carefully demolished in 1941 after it was deemed unsafe. Each stone was numbered and stored in a nearby quarry, with plans to reconstruct the spire after the war. However, following the cessation of hostilities, the stones were nowhere to be seen. Their whereabouts remains a mystery.

Today, Inveraray's monochrome high street and fairytale castle attract tourists from far and wide. Its castle was recently featured in an episode of Downton Abbey, boosting interest. The town's buildings are mostly protected, as they are such an excellent example of 18th-century town planning, retaining their charm for the modern-day visitor to enjoy. ☺

BOOK REVIEWS

This month's best historical books

Bread for All: The Origins of the Welfare State

By Chris Renwick

Allen Lane, £20, 336 pages, hardback

At a time when the welfare state in Britain is a hot political topic – does it provide a valuable social safety net or has it become sprawling, bloated and unwieldy? – it's helpful to have a historical view of how we reached this point. Chris Renwick, a historian at the University of York, here provides an insightful overview of the welfare state's development, from the Victorian workhouse to the impact of World War II and the changes of the 1970s and '80s. It is, by necessity, somewhat involved in places, but offers an important look at the ways in which government has attempted to drastically remould society.

BOOK
OF THE
MONTH

CHRIS RENWICK

BREAD FOR ALL

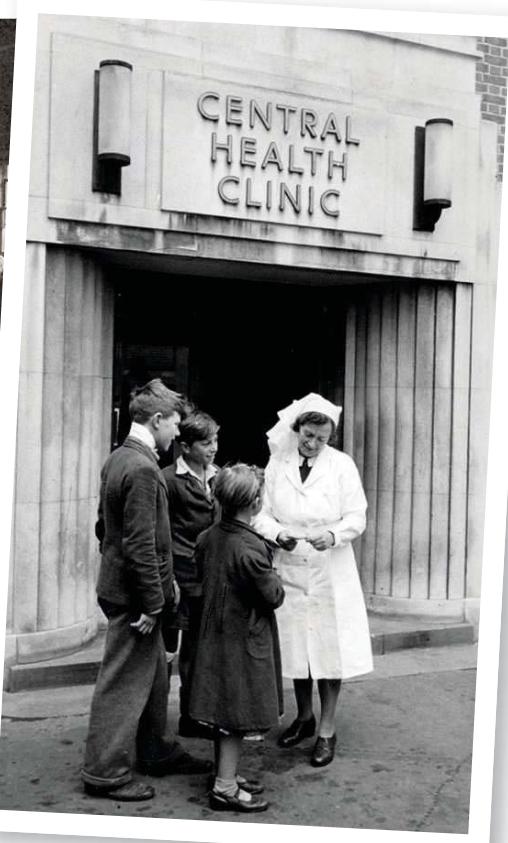
The Origins of the Welfare State



"The welfare state was never simply a dull system of national insurance that paid out benefits to people"



ABOVE: The Victorian workhouse was an early example of a welfare state system
RIGHT: Children talk to a nurse outside a new NHS centre, 1948



MEET THE AUTHOR

Chris Renwick exposes the origins of the British welfare state system, and the changing attitudes towards poverty, responsibility and the economy

What prompted you to write this book?

As a historian of 19th- and 20th-century Britain, it's been difficult to not be struck by the way in which ideas such as 'strivers and skivers' and 'living within our means' have become fixtures in our political discussions since the financial crash almost a decade ago. Those ideas – and sometimes the specific words too – are incredibly reminiscent of the way people used to talk about the subject of welfare (as we now call it) during the 1800s and the first half of the 20th century. I felt that not only had we seemed to have forgotten about that period, but also that there was a growing tendency to represent the welfare state as being owned by the left wing. I thought we would all benefit if we reconnected with the welfare state's origins and motivations.



What factors led to the creation of the welfare state?

The welfare state's mixed political parentage means there were a number of different factors. Sympathy for those who suffer for reasons beyond their control is obviously important.

There was also a strong feeling by that point that, simply put, Britain was big enough and rich enough to do better by a lot of people – in particular those who had fought in the two world wars and suffered during the Great Depression. But the welfare state wasn't entirely new, so there was a much longer period of development, both intellectually and practically.

Just how big a transformation was this?

Some aspects of the welfare state were not a transformation at all, simply an extension to everyone of things already available to some people. Social insurance had been available for some time but provision was patchy,

dependent on how big a local trade union was or whether an individual qualified for the state's national insurance schemes.

Other aspects, however, were genuinely transformative, with the National Health Service, the one genuinely universal service in the whole edifice, the obvious example. Other countries handled the situation differently. The US, for example, made health insurance available to individuals via employers, which produced a completely different result. One need only think about how the British Medical Association

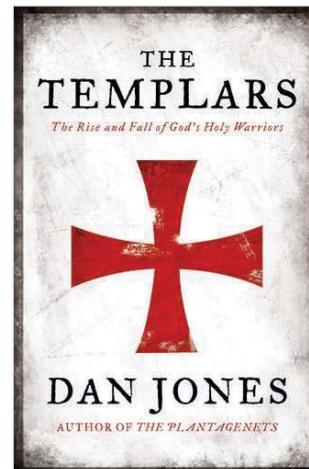
were the staunchest opponents of the NHS to see how attitudes have changed.

The welfare state was more than a single institution or policy, though; it was a tapestry of ideas and commitments, including a commitment to run the economy in a way that achieved full employment. There was never a widespread appetite for full-scale economic planning in Britain, but the idea the economy could be managed was truly transformative.

What new

impression of the welfare state would you like to leave readers with?

I'd like people to reflect on the argument that the welfare state was not intended to dispense with capitalism, but to save capitalism from itself. It was certainly created to help the most vulnerable, but the aim was always much bigger: to establish a set of arrangements that ensured we can all get along, that ensured individuals could build a life for themselves and their families, and, in the process, make everyone better off. The precise form those arrangements took was specific to the moment in which they were created, but I think there's much to be taken from that idea.

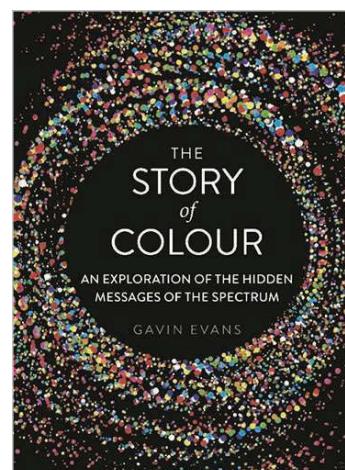


The Templars

By **Dan Jones**

Head of Zeus, £25, 432 pages, hardback

Leather-jacketed historian Dan Jones – you may have seen him touring Britain's castles on Channel 5 – here turns his attention to the Knights Templar, an enormously powerful medieval order that financed some of the Crusades' most fearsome fighters. Their name is also synonymous with secrecy, and Jones attempts to separate fact from fiction in his usual entertaining style.



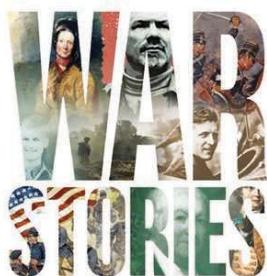
The Story of Colour

By **Gareth Evans**

Michael O'Mara, £20, 224 pages, hardback

This cultural history of colour explores how the meanings we attach to various shades have been influenced through the centuries by a huge range of social forces: art, science, linguistics and more. If you think that sounds like a broad subject then you're right, but this is still a fascinating kaleidoscope of historical vignettes.

Peter Snow &
Ann MacMillan



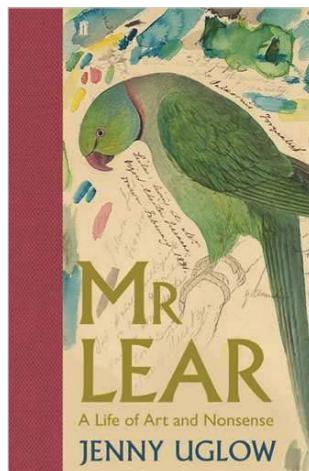
GRIPPING TALES OF COURAGE,
CUNNING AND COMPASSION

War Stories

By Peter Snow and Ann MacMillan

John Murray, £25, 352 pages, hardback

This book, from a husband-and-wife team (both broadcasters, Snow probably most famous for his lively election analysis) explores the real stories of men and women caught up in the turbulence of war. Spanning centuries and continents, from the American War of Independence to World War II, the diverse scope means that it's as good to dip in and out of as it is to read cover to cover.

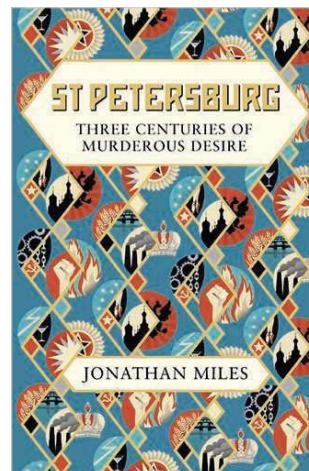


Mr Lear

By Jenny Uglow

Faber and Faber, £25,
608 pages, hardback

The 19th-century artist and author Edward Lear is best known today for his nonsensical limericks, but he had many other strings to his bow: poet, illustrator, musician. This tender biography explores his travels, his complicated relationships, and how those nonsense verses can help us make sense of their creator.

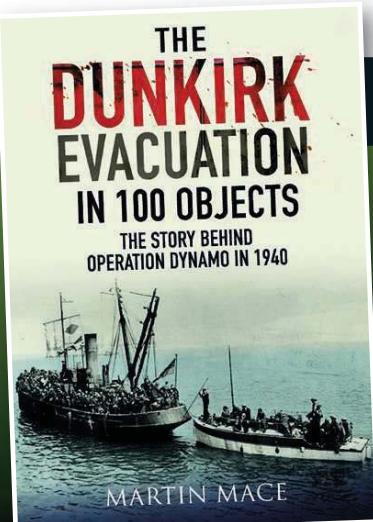


St Petersburg: Three Centuries of Murderous Desire

By Jonathan Miles

Hutchinson, £25, 608 pages, hardback

Plunge into the streets of Russia's cultural capital in this vibrant look at the city. It's at once a dark fairyland, in which artists plied their trade and parties wound their way through fragrant gardens, and a very real metropolis of starvation and slaughter.



VISUAL BOOK OF THE MONTH

The full-colour photographs of each item are accompanied by detailed explanations of the object, and the people and events that make them so special or relevant



The Dunkirk Evacuation in 100 Objects: The Story Behind Operation Dynamo in 1940

By Martin Mace

Frontline Books, £16.99, 248 pages, paperback

The latest subject to get the ‘...in 100 Objects’ treatment is the World War II evacuation of Dunkirk, an event that has recently graced cinema screens. Here, the remarkable rescue is told through snapshots: a boat, a rifle, a photograph. It’s a great introduction to an episode that continues to linger in the public imagination.



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Silent City Meets Living City

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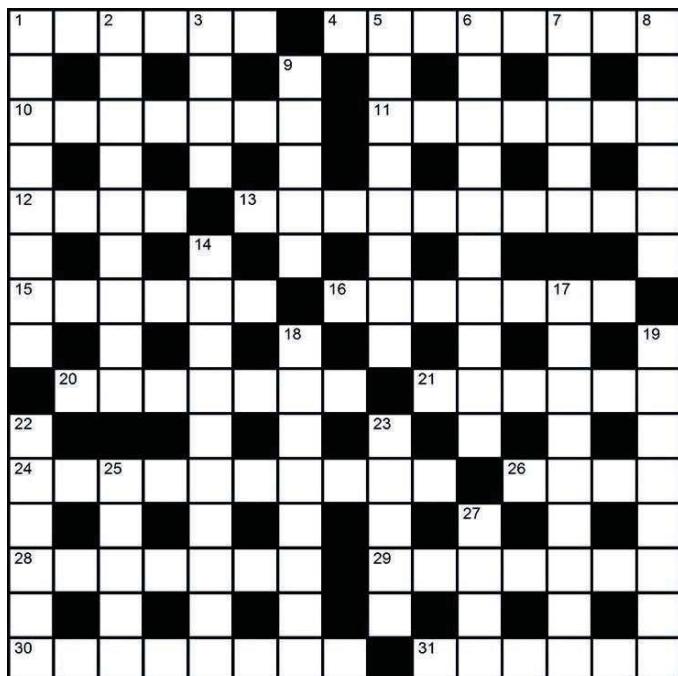
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ZONNEBEKE 14-18

CROSSWORD N° 47

Test your history knowledge to solve our prize puzzle – and you could win a fantastic new book

Set by Richard Smyth



ACROSS

- 1 Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, for example (6)
- 4 'Nature's great masterpiece, an ___; the only harmless great thing' – John Donne, 1612 (8)
- 10 In the Old Testament, the wife of Ahab (7)
- 11 The family name of Shakespeare's Juliet (7)
- 12 Idi ___ (d.2003), ruler of Uganda from 1971 to 1979 (4)
- 13 Samuel ___ (1689–1761), Derbyshire-born author of the novels *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748) (10)
- 15 Native American peoples of the south-western US (6)
- 16 The Bloody ___ trials that followed the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 (7)

- 20 Vyacheslav ___ (1890–1986), Soviet Foreign Minister under Josef Stalin (7)
- 21 Ancient British kingdom ruled in the eighth century by Offa (6)
- 24 Archaic term for south-east Asia, particularly the Malay Archipelago (4,6)
- 26 Kind Of ___, 1959 jazz album by Miles Davis (4)
- 28 Patron saint of musicians, supposedly beheaded in the second or third century (7)
- 29 John ___ (d.1314), King of Scots who abdicated in 1296 (7)
- 30 ___ Story, 1957 Broadway musical (4,4)
- 31 Ancient city in the West Bank, captured by the Crusaders in 1099 (6)

CROSSWORD COMPETITION TERMS & CONDITIONS

The competition is open to all UK residents (inc. Channel Islands), aged 18 or over, except Immediate Media Co Bristol Ltd employees or contractors, and anyone connected with the competition or their direct family members. By entering, participants agree to be bound by these terms and conditions and that their name and county may be released if they win. Only one entry per person.

The closing date and time is as shown under **How to Enter**, above. Entries received after that will not be considered. Entries cannot be returned. Entrants must supply full name, address and daytime phone number. Immediate Media Company (publishers of *History Revealed*) will only ever use personal details for the purposes of administering this competition, and will not publish them or provide them to anyone without permission. Read more about the Immediate Privacy Policy at www.immediatemedia.co.uk/privacy-policy.

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Post entries to **History Revealed, October 2017 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE9 0AA** or email them to october2017@historyrevealedcomps.co.uk

by noon on **1 November 2017**. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in the box below.

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SOLUTION N° 45



The winning entrants will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. The prize and number of winners will be as shown on the Crossword page. There is no cash alternative and the prize will not be transferable. Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited's decision is final and no correspondence relating to the competition will be entered into. The winners will be notified by post within 28 days of the close of the competition. The name and county of residence of the winners will be published in the magazine within two months of the

closing date. If the winner is unable to be contacted within one month of the closing date, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited reserves the right to offer the prize to a runner-up.

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Shazia Fardous,
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ON SALE **12 OCTOBER**



VICTORIA: EMPERRESS OF INDIA

How the
subcontinent
seduced
the Queen

ALSO NEXT MONTH...

TANKS AT 100: A CENTURY THAT CHANGED
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READERS' LETTERS

Get in touch - share your opinions
on history and our magazine

STOP THE WAR

I really enjoyed reading *Vietnam: The War America Could Never Win* (September 2017). You mentioned a lot of people who spoke out against the war, including public figures and members of the public. However, two important people who were never mentioned are Democratic senators Wayne Morse of Oregon, and Ernest Gruening of Alaska. This couple of men were the only

is we've got to think of the future... your future, and we've got to come to grips with the issues that are going to confront your generation." As you mentioned in your article, the war became an issue that confronted a generation of young Americans.

Unfortunately for Morse, his anti-war

“They stood up against the war in 1964, many years before the majority of Americans”

two people in Congress who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Gruening remarked at the time that it would "send our American boys into combat in a war in which we have no business".

Furthermore, Wayne Morse said at a protest rally, "My plea

stance was used against him when he came up for re-election in 1968, losing after 24 years in the Senate to pro-war Robert Packwood.

Morse and Gruening (who also introduced the resolution for a nation-wide 911 emergency phone number) are the



LETTER OF THE MONTH

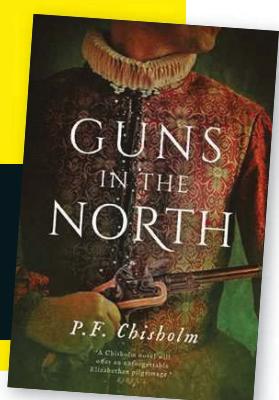
HEY, HEY, LBJ

forgotten men of the anti-Vietnam protests. They stood up against the war in 1964, many years before the majority of Americans took note.

Additionally, I would like to see an article about the horrific

My Lai Massacre, committed by US troops, which you touched on in your article.

Stephen wins a copy of *Guns in the North* by P F Chisholm. This will be the first book in the Sir Robert Carey Mysteries series. Chisholm weaves a tale of Tudor intrigue, with Carey, a roguish lord, for a protagonist. He faces a challenge from the criminals in the border region, but can he restore order?



 I'm reading about Anne Boleyn in @HistoryRevMag like it's a centuries-old but especially juicy *HELLO!*
@John_Bizzell

BESIDE THE SEASIDE

In reading your August 2017 issue, I was delighted to find an article on the Victorian seaside. It was a light-hearted piece outlining the development of

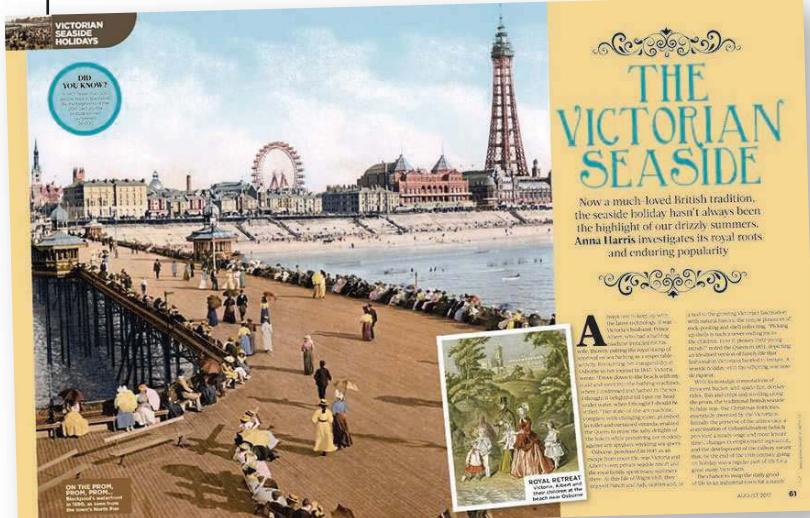
the coastal holiday, which gave me insight into a topic that has always fascinated.

As society evolved, the number of people enjoying the seaside holiday expanded. The emphasis shifted from the European 'Grand Tour' and visits to 'spa towns' on the Continent towards the seaside holiday, which was more affordable for the lower classes. Thomas Cook introduced the first 'package holiday' to Skegness in 1841, promoting the resort with the phrase, "It's so bracing". A package to

Blackpool was added in 1845. Since then, the Thomas Cook brand has never looked back.

The mention of the saucy postcard really caught my eye. Donald McGill was an English graphic artist who became synonymous with the genre of the cheeky postcard. Born in 1875, he became known as 'the King of the saucy postcard'. During his lifetime, it is estimated that he produced 12,000 postcard designs, which sold in excess of 20 million copies.

For many, the British seaside holiday still remains a traditional institution, in part thanks to the Victorians.
Peter Cadman, via email



PIER MANIA

In her splendid article on Victorian seaside holidays, Anna Harris indicated that Hastings had the first purpose-built 'pleasure pier' in the country, opening in 1872.

However, 19 years before this, Great Yarmouth decided to honour the Duke of Wellington by building a pier. The town had no need for a pier to act as a landing stage for steamers, as it was one of the few seaside resorts that had a harbour, accessible at all times of the tide. This allowed the passenger steamers, and later the famous Belle Steamers, to steam up river and disembark their passengers in the centre of the town. These steamers were known locally as 'the London boats'. The Wellington Pier opened in October 1853, having taken only four months to build, allowing the early Victorians to promenade over the sea. By 1859, regular entertainment was provided by military bands.

The pier was such a success that, in 1858, another pier, the Britannia, was built further north. Both the piers were rebuilt in the early 20th century, and today still provide typical seaside entertainment for locals and holidaymakers.

Colin Tooke, Great Yarmouth

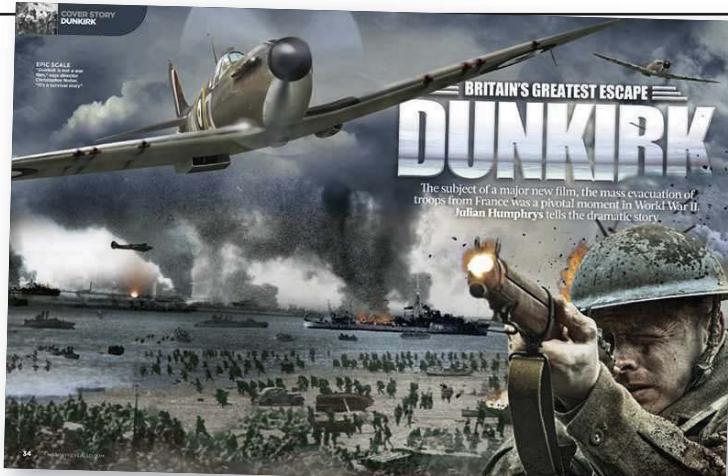
IN GRATITUDE

Thank you for the thought-provoking piece about Dunkirk (August 2017). This was such an important moment in our history, and the article really took me to the atmosphere of the beaches. An article like yours can really make me think about how much the individuals present are still owed by us all.

Jennifer Shelden, Leicester

FAMILY TIES

My wife bought me the latest issue of your magazine, as I have recently taken an interest in finding out more about my family history during World War II, and Dunkirk was featured. My grandfather Alfred George Hollifield was a member



SOURCE MATERIAL

Our August issue's cover feature, *Dunkirk*, inspired one reader to dig deeper into his grandfather's wartime experiences

of The Welsh Guards, and he fought as a rear guard during the action at Dunkirk. However, he was captured during fighting and eventually held for six long years as a prisoner of war in Nazi-occupied Poland.

I found your magazine very informative and the vast range of subjects kept me reading from cover to cover. Your magazine has kept me enthused about history, and has inspired me to find out more about my grandfather's fascinating wartime experiences.

Owen Hollifield, Caerphilly

DECoy DANCER

I think Mata Hari (Extraordinary Tale, August 2017) was probably used as a decoy, in order to keep the different Allied countries from finding out who the real traitor was. Take an in-depth look at her handler Captain

Another brilliant read from start to finish. Looking forward to the next issue
Amy Appleby

Georges Ladoux, and you might find out he was using Mata Hari. She was a perfect foil, being a so-called 'fallen woman' in the strict codes of European society.

Kelly Brown, via email

f You missed one of the biggest robberies in history (Top 10, September 2017): Manchester United stealing the 1999 Champions League final from Bayern Munich.
Gabby Cancelli

ARE YOU A WINNER?

The lucky winners of the crossword from issue 45 are:

Alan Gee, Milton Keynes
Sharon Kitching, Nuneaton
Graeme Gee, Suffolk

Congratulations! You've each won a copy of *Versailles: Complete Series 1 and 2*.

This critically acclaimed drama depicts the scandals at Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV, the 'Sun King'.

HISTORY REVEALED

Bringing the past to life

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SPAIN
1938



THE BITTER END

A wounded Spanish Civil War soldier weeps as he bids farewell to the International Brigades. Volunteers from around the world came to aid Spain in its fight against fascist Franco, but were called back home in an attempt to broker a diplomatic deal with him. Franco did not hold up his end of the bargain, and hordes of fascists from Germany and Italy stayed in Spain to annihilate the remaining freedom fighters.

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Yasuko Fujino, *In the Garden* (detail).
Silk, metal thread, mohair, 250 x 410cm © Yasuko Fujino

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